The Worker's Vanguard

Mid-January, 1959 #38 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

# CUBANS OUST HATED BATISTA

The lush tropical island of Cuba, playground for well-heeled tourists and looting ground of American, Canadian and British financial sharks has exploded in revolution. The Cuban butcher, General Batista, who seized power in the same year as Hitler, has fled with a $300,000,000 cache.

Despite powerful military, political and economic support from the US, Britain and Canada, Batista was unable to maintain his dictatorship. Instead, big investors found the protracted civil war interfering with the flow of profits from their sugar, rum and mineral investments. Canadian insurance interests found that "riot clauses" in insurance policies were forcing them to pay out large sums of money.

The bloody Batista, whose victims are numbered in the tens of thousands, was no longer useful to them. So he was ordered to pack up and get out before he was thrown out by the Cuban people.

The Canadian government and business interests have been desperately looking around for a way to cover up the crimes flowing from their profitable interests that involve gambling, insurance, prostitution, banking, etc. The best they could pull out of the hat was Alan McNaughton, a professional gun runner and son of one of Canada's former top brass.

It turns out that McNaughton's job, while an official purchaser of arms for Batista, was all along to tip off Castro as to what military supplies were coming from Canada. The best the American imperialists could produce to cover up their long support of Batista and identify themselves with the revolution was a shin-scraped rebel and movie actor, Errol Flynn and a rebel flag waving casino-keeper, George Raft.

The Cuban revolution is yet in its early stages. The Canadian press has expressed its hopes and pleasure over the limited aims of the Fidel Castro-led movement. Philip Deane, writing from Havana for The Globe and Mail observed that Castro at one time talked about the nationalization of absentee-owned industries in Cuba and distribution of the vast plantation lands amongst the peasants. "Castro no longer speaks of nationalization," he notes, "even though some of his followers may utter the dreadful word."

The French, British, US and Canadian governments have been quick to recognize the new regime, hoping thereby to give it the stability they desire. Deane himself sees the revolution as a "most encouraging development for the West, because," he writes, "this is not a Communist onslaught on the status quo."

Castro was forced to call upon the workers to come out in a general strike in order to assure his victory. Deane wrote in the January 4th G & M; "The general strike had its desired effect—anyone thinking of challenging Castro for the succession to Batista could plainly see that the 32-year-old revolutionary leader had it in his power to keep the island paralyzed." Commenting on the relaxation of the strike, Deane points out Castro maintained it on public transport to prevent large crowds gathering in the centre of town "this would strain the rebel's resources for keeping order and they seem intent on disarming the public before the strike ends."

All the indications are that Castro is attempting to control the revolution and channel it into a middle class reform program that will leave the source of Cuba's poverty and misery—imperialism—basically intact. A provisional government has been set up with elections promised a long 1½ to 2 years away.

But the revolution that is now unfolding is a powerful blow to world imperialism. It is symbolic of the rising revolutionary tide in Latin America. Castro only represents the first state in this rising revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its stooges.

**THE WORKERS' VANGUARD**

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Association
569 Yonge Street, Toronto 5, Ont. - WA. 3-5174

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

The policy of The Workers' Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers' Vanguard.

Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 333 King St. W., Toronto
Authorized as Second Class matter, Post Office Department, Ottawa

# Farmer - Labor Party in Danger

The jointly sponsored Canadian Labor Congress—CCF conferences, organized on a union local and constituency basis, are continuing to take place across the country. But what has been notably lacking at these conferences all along, and is still lacking, is serious discussion on what the political program of the projected farmer-labor party should and will be. The leading sponsors in many areas have proven to be dead against such a discussion. Insofar as they discuss program at all the conferences are being restricted to the formal limits of past policy positions adopted by the CLC and CCF national conventions.

As if the projected labor party is an act which will be taken on a certain date in 1960, and not a process! As if the newly projected farmer-labor party is not right now going through its period of gestation that will determine whether we have a farmer-labor, a class party, capable of responding to the needs of the working people, or a deformed monstrosity—a liberal-labor coalition!

There have been a whole series of events in the past month that are being used as grist by the propaganda mills of the enemies of a workers and farmers government, shaping the thinking of large layers of the Canadian people, influencing those who are playing an important role, particularly in this, the formative period of the party.

But these developments are not being seriously discussed where it is crucial that they be discussed—in the CCF-labor conferences and the union PAC's.

The first federal by-elections since the Tories were swept back into office took place last month. The CCF, which is the caretaker of the projected party, lost heavily in both seats. In the solidly working class riding of Toronto-Trinity, where it was possible to make a real concentration of forces, the CCF trailed—dropping half of its previous vote. In the mixed suburban-rural Manitoba seat of Springfield, with a strong candidate who recently held the seat, the CCF lost 1,500 votes. The Liberals, which the CCF leadership ludicrously pretends are a spent force, proved to be far from dead. They took Toronto-Trinity. They made modest gains in Springfield, while both the CCF and Tories lost heavily.

Then there has been the BC provincial by-election in the industrial area of Trail, extremely important because the CCF is the official opposition with real possibilities of winning the next provincial election. Social Credit, forced into the Trail election when its sitting member was convicted of corruption, sneaked back in, but with a heavy loss in votes. The Tories increased their vote nine-fold, the Liberals made modest gains, the CCF dropped slightly.

To top off these elections, all of them important readings of the temperature of working class opinion, are the recent conventions of the Western farmers' organizations. While the new party must be led by labor it must find support in the ranks of the working farmers. All three prairie farm organizations have rejected out of hand the invitation to participate in the new political formation. Only 15 delegates to the Manitoba Farmers Union voted for a motion calling for discussion with the CLC on the new political alignment. The key Saskatchewan Farmers Union brushed aside a similar resolution, the most outspoken opponent being J. J. Phelps, the Minister of Natural Resources in the first CCF government in 1944. Only one delegate spoke in favor of the SFU joining the CCF-CLC sponsored party.

There is certainly much food for thought here. One of the problems, as we see it, is that the new farmer-labor party remains embodied, encased, in real political life in the narrow confines of the CCF which has been stifled by the infamous Winnipeg Declaration that was substituted for the Regina Manifesto. The CCF's retreat from a class policy, not to speak of a socialist policy is being continued. While the same CCF leaders, plus a sprinkling of trade union bureaucrats, are presenting themselves as an alternative political force to the Liberals and Tories it is scarcely possible to define any important difference that they have with the boss political machines.

A few days before the Trail by-election CCF leader Strachan stated in a radio broadcast that a CCF government would not implement a socialist program. He answered an emphatic NO to the question, would the CCF bring the forest industry under public ownership and control.

There is little difference on the national issues confronting the Canadian workers and farmers, and there is even less on the overall questions of war or peace; on H Bomb testing, on the armaments drive, on Canadian participation in such military alliances as NATO and NORAD, on Canada's attitude to the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples.

A farmer-labor party capable of taking office in Ottawa and in the provinces will not arise from an announcement or even a summons from the CCF leadership and a scattering of the trade union brass. For this the broadest layers of Canada's working people must be offered a real alternative to capitalist war and depression—a new world of economic and social democracy.

The present policy will not mobilize the necessary vast social forces onto this new course. Indeed its immediate results are undermining the very foundations of the new party and are placing a question mark around its whole future.

# GOVT IGNORES UNEMPLOYED

By P. KENT

**The Canadian government is paying too much attention to unemployment—those are the sentiments expressed by president of the Investment Dealers Association, Edward H. Ely, when in Ottawa on February 5. "There's nobody really going without now," says this president of the 15 billion dollar "industry".**

**And that is just how the Diefenbaker government feels about the situation. It is paying as little attention to unemployment as it possibly can. After all, didn't Diefenbaker himself promise that as long as he was prime minister not one person would suffer because of unemployment? So there just can't be any serious unemployment in Canada!**

The speech from the throne was written and presented as if there wasn't any at all. No program to meet unemployment was projected. Government spokesmen participated in the debate only to manipulate and play down data as to its extent and gravity. And, of course, not to miss the opportunity to expose the hypocrisy and fraud of the Liberals who just a year or so ago played the game that the Tories now play.

**There was one little embarrassment for the government. J. C. Van Horne, Progressive Conservative MP for Restigouche-Madawaska (NB), delivered a speech in his riding back in December in which he stated he would resign from the commons as soon as the local Tory machine could find a replacement. He wrote in a local paper that he informed Labor Minister Starr that he would not remain in parliament as a government supporter and see his constituents suffer hunger and privation because of unemployment. "I insist that the government do something about it," he wrote. But lawyer Van Horne, a key man in the multi-million K. C. Irving empire, was quietly moved into a back seat in the commons where he kept his peace.**

CCF attempts on February 5 to win adjournment of normal business for a special debate on unemployment were turned down by the Speaker. And so the government goes about its "essential" business and the generating of hot air. And "it is essential", as Transport Minister Hees told the Montreal Rotary Club on December 9, "that the government assure enterprise (capitalism) of a fair return for effort expended and money invested . . ."

The government didn't and doesn't in the future intend to take any action on behalf of the 574,237 unemployed that the National Employment Service reported on Dec. 15—39 per cent more registrations than in November and 1.67 per cent more than the year before. It doesn't intend to do anything for the families of the 7.2 per cent of the labor force that DBS tallied were unemployed in December.

The next move is up to organized labor. It is powerful enough, if it mobilizes its forces, to rally the strength right across the continent that can come to grips with the situation.

The first task is to organize the unemployed—to link their forces to the union movement. What a solid footing would be built under the projected labor party if the Canadian Labor Congress were to translate its demand for a 40 hour legal work week into mass rallies and demonstrations, and the CCF MP's and MLA's, simultaneously in the provincial and federal houses, were to press motions for the enactment of a 40 hour week.

**What a blow such a co-ordinated campaign would deal to the labor baiters who try to smear the union movement as a narrow, selfish movement. A quick victory could be won in several provinces and there is no reason to doubt that Ottawa could be compelled to grant the shorter work week, unemployment insurance for the full duration of unemployment and at the rate previously earned, along with other necessary legislation.**

The CLC has made the record for public ownership of all public utilities. AVRO, "born and nurtured on government contracts," should be among the first to gear its productive power to the wishes of the government and public," declared the MP from Cape Breton N.-Victoria. Yes, it is time to raise the demand that plants closing down across the country be taken over by the government for the production and sale at cost of the many goods needed by the people.

Workers Guard

Vol. 4, No. 3 (39) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

The Marxist
Vanguard
Mid-February, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 3 (39) 23 Toronto—Price 5 c.

# Logging Bosses, Courts, RCMP Gang-up to Keep 60 Hour Week

By PAUL KANE

Two powerful pulp and paper corporations which rule over and ruthlessly exploit tremendous tracts of Newfoundland's forests like feudal barons of old are waging an all-out battle to break the strike of some 1,800 loggers, members of the International Woodworkers of America (CLC). Their two mills, the only ones in the province, are the backbone of the economy. They seek to smash the IWA before it can win its first contract in order to preserve the tenth province as one of the lowest wage areas in the country.

The key pulp and paper towns of Grand Falls and Cornerbrook, dominated by the British-owned Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company and Bowaters' Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills Limited, are like armed camps. RCMP constables are everywhere. On February 7, 45 RCMP, equipped with sidearms, truncheons and helmets from local militia stores, marched 79 strikers in zero temperature through snow whipped gusts of 50 miles an hour, some 10 miles, before taking them in buses into Grand Falls.

They were held incommunicado. Their wives who came with box lunches to visit them were refused entry into the town armoury which is serving as a jail. The strikers have been charged with mischief and damage to private property in a fracas with scabs brought in by Anglo-Newfoundland Development to take over their jobs. Some will be tried by the Newfoundland Supreme Court for breaking one

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## Newfoundland Strike —

(Continued from page 1)

of the many injunctions that the courts have granted the bosses.

Since December 30, when 1,200 loggers struck Anglo-Newfoundland to be joined by some 600 employed by Bowaters, there have been innumerable instances of police intimidation, flagrant use of the courts for strikebreaking purposes, company inspired hooliganism, etc. On January 27 three loggers, sympathetic to the strikers, were held at gunpoint at a camp until freed to join the strike by armed members of the striking union. Among the many arrested for obstruction are three strikers charged with theft with violence—involving the removal of a snowmobile key from a strikebreaker.

The IWA, certified as bargaining agent for loggers employed by both companies, is demanding that the unanimous award of a government appointed conciliation board be acceded to by the companies. The board recommended that the base pay of $1.05 an hour be raised a mere 5 cents over a two-year period, and that the present 60-hour week be reduced to 54 hours with the same take-home pay.

The Woodworkers was certified at Anglo-Newfoundland Development back in May but the company has refused to negotiate a contract. When the union was certified as bargaining agent for Bowaters' 7,500 loggers, the company claimed it employed no loggers but worked through independent contractors. When the IWA signed up the majority of independents the company blocked the union by winning an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Five mill unions, covering 1,800 workers at Grand Falls, have failed to support the loggers.

But 1,200 of the 2,000 employed at the Cornerbrook mill who are members of Pulp and Sulphite (CLC) have donated heavily to the strike fund. The Sulphite local held a mass meeting which 1,500 persons attended to hear Larry Daley, president of the 20,000 member Newfoundland Federation of Labor pledge its support.

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# War Still Looms Before Us

Ottawa's announcement, in its budgetary estimates, of a cut in military expenditures is not a matter for any comfort. One thing the estimates do spell out is tax increases to meet the largest budget in history. And they do not signify any easing in the arms drive.

The 72 million dollar cut is a paltry one in the light of the fact that military expenditures still amount to 1,695 million dollars, or 28 per cent of over-all government expenditures. In part, the cut is due to the government's dilemma over the AVRO Arrow. Nor can Canadian military outlays be considered on their own. President Eisenhower's budget speech revealed military expenditures of 41 billion dollars, roughly 53 per cent of the US budget—part of which Diefenbaker hopes will be spent in this country.

That the Eisenhower arms budget was presented just as Soviet First Deputy Premier Mikoyan's US visit wound to a close, underscores the limited character of the easing up in the cold war that Mikoyan's reception by US government and business dignitaries spelled out.

The Mikoyan visit has no doubt opened the door for new big power conferences. In addition, it is possible that Big Business, seeking to climb out of the depression, sees a possibility of increased trade with the Soviet bloc. While both the easing off of the cold war and trade will be of benefit to the Canadian people neither amount to a change in basic strategy on the part of Big Business or its political advisers.

Although a temporary co-existence deal between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism is possible, eventually capitalism's compelling need to eliminate the Soviet property forms makes agreement on concrete issues difficult to achieve, and lasting co-existence impossible. That is why, while talking sweet reasonableness and even conceding that the USSR is not a military threat but an economic threat, the West continues its monstrous arms drive.

The stupendous destructive power of H Bombs, the state of defencelessness against ICBM's, have created a balance of terror, but they do not assure peace. Take it from US ex-Secretary of Air Finletter who recently advised "we had better stop consoling ourselves with the idea that the possibility of war has disappeared from the earth," the reality is "the war which looms so menacingly before us." Or from Canada's retired adjutant-general Major-General Macklin, who told a conference at McGill, that Canada will end up with the US, locked in fortress America, surrounded by a hostile communist world, or a dictatorship resulting from the crushing financial burden of defence, or in the middle of a devastating nuclear war.

Capitalism has proven capable of producing governments that exterminated millions in gas chambers and incinerated millions at Nagasaki and Hiroshima. According to Brock Chisholm and Sir Robert Watson-Watt, speaking in Toronto recently, Canadian scientists are working in Suffield, Alberta, in collaboration with US and British scientists, on germs that "could strike down whole cities and countries within six hours".

# To Build Houses Like Cars

Thousands of working class families, after borrowing money from everyone they know and renting out the basement or flat to meet mortgage payments, may be dissatisfied with the house they bought. The doors may be sagging, the plaster cracking, the paint peeling, the basement leaking, but they haven't seen anything yet. The jerry building that has been going on all during the post-war housing boom has been bad but it has been, in a sense, incidental.

From comments by some of Canada's biggest construction heads at the recent convention of the National House Builders Association in Montreal, it's going to be planned, organized, from now on in. We are going to have planned obsolescence in housing.

L. A. Rice, past president of the Toronto Metropolitan Home Builders Association, protested that houses that last too long are obviously not good for the building business. J. D. Fienberg, president of Consolidated Building Corporation, protested that because of the building code there are houses 60 years old that are as good as the day they were built. "This is not a good thing . . ."

But it was Graham Lount, vice-president of the association and vice-president of C. T. Lount Construction (Winnipeg), who spelled out the program. With a little help, he held, the 40 million dollars that economists predict should be spent for housing by 1980, could be doubled.

So instead of building houses to satisfy, according to Lount, "it is up to us to make the consumer so dissatisfied that he is going to go out to buy a new one more quickly than he would have."

The average home under NHA last year cost $13,182 and the average income of NHA borrowers was $5,100. L. A. Rice predicts that new housing in the Toronto area will cost $1,000 more this year. It has been obvious that the only way almost 90 per cent of Canada's population can own a simple home is through the government moving in against the real estate and mortgage gougers and subsidizing low cost and low rental housing.

But now, given clear warning of the plans afoot to jerrybuild on a mass basis, to build planned obsolescence right into housing, any government claiming to represent the interests of the people would be required to bar the profiteers from the costruction industry entirely. It would be required to take over the industry and place it in the hands of the building trades workers.

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# Castro Denounces Interference Cuban People Cry For Justice

A motley group of editors, men of the cloth, parliamentarians and others, have joined in chorus against what they call a "blood bath", "mass executions", "bloody reprisals" taken against the deposed Batista regime's torturers and butchers by the new Cuban government. Silent all during the terrible years when Batista's henchmen fiendishly mutilated and murdered some 20,000 Cubans, now, as friends of course, of the revolutionary government, they call for "justice", for "fair trials".

It was the CCF leader himself, Hazen Argue no less, who raised the matter in the house of commons, pressing the government to make a diplomatic protest.

By January 30, by unofficial count, 262 Batista supporters had been executed. Unfairly, without justice? There is no evidence to sustain the charge! Montreal lawyer Harry Blank, witness of the trial of Col. Jesus Sosa Blanco, sentenced to death in the first big Havana public trial, told the Canadian press on January 27, "If Blanco had been tried in Canada and faced only such evidence as would be permitted in a Canadian court he would have been found guilty of the numbers of murders for which he was accused. In other words," he said, "they used different means to reach the same results." On January 21, a massive crowd of 600,000 Cubans, gathered in Havana, roared their approval of the military trials. Fidel Castro, stung by US protests, cabled President Eisenhower and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee protesting the attacks on his government. "The American silence on the crimes of the Batista regime has made the present criticism of executions here offensive and dangerous for Cuban-American relations." In another comment he scored those raising the hue and cry with not being concerned with human life: "They are afraid of the effect a free Cuba will have upon the rest of Latin America which has suffered so many indignities so long."

Castro told some of the truth about US State Department and British Foreign Office aid to bloody Batista. US aid flowed in to Batista, under the guise of hemisphere defense, up until a few months before his collapse. A military mission, still in Cuba, trained Batista's army. British aid flowed in, in the form of tanks and planes, right up until the moment of collapse.

Philip Deane admits in the January 15 GLOBE AND MAIL that "Batista was favored by Washington for a while as a staunch anti communist — he banned the Communist Party — who made no troubles for US military bases and gave US businessmen their heads pretty well." In a previous article of January 9 Deane revealed that when it appeared certain that Batista was going down, the US state department pulled out from under him in order to latch onto the revolution, to make it safe for the billion dollars worth of US investments.

While Deane refers to Castro and his immediate circle as "on the whole conservative men" by Canadian and European standards", the US State Department bet on the Revolutionary Directorate which it infiltrated heavily with its agents. "It is the Revolutionary Directorate with its suspect sponsors that the US backed rather than Castro. While retaining relations with Batista—cold ones after Vice-President Nixon's Latin American tour showed it is undiplomatic to support dictators— Washington also sent some of its agents to join the rebellion and become heroes of the Revolution. Reporters have long memories and this correspondent," wrote Deane from Havana, "recognized some of these heroes . . ."

The policy of the new government of President Manuel Urrutia, thrust into office by the Castro movement, is one of limited reforms; curtailment of gambling, elimination of corruption in government, cheapening of telephone, hydro and postal rates. While cracking down on professional gamblers and casino owners, Castro assured the US that its "legitimate interests" in Cuba would be protected.

In an article contrasting the revolutionaries in the field "extremists of the revolution who undoubtedly cluster around the younger (Raul) Castro", with those who are now the government, Deane reports that the latter "are strictly protecting the property of Batista's men". They have not even confiscated the lands of the enemy not to speak of dividing the lands of absentee landowners amongst the starving peasantry or nationalizing the foreign dominated public utilities.

The Castro government is confronted by two dangers: 1 — the threat of a comeback into office of the same old corrupt forces that Batista grouped around himself, as the material base from which they sprang has remained untouched, and 2—that the masses, failing a genuine solution of their problems will boldly move out on the march again to carry the revolution forward in the direction of ending capitalism.

The Rev. Jorge Chebebe, a priest from Santiago, the capital of Oriente province, explained the executions; "there is a general opinion this should be done now to avoid a return of these people to power." Speaking on behalf of the government, Roberto Egramonte warned, "If the tribunals did not do what they are doing now to assure fast justice the families of those who were murdered and tortured would take justice into their own hands . . ."

The cry for justice against Batistists that sweeps Cuba is the form in which the demand that the revolution be firmly consolidated and extended finds expression.

January 28 saw a strike which paralyzed Manzanillo in Oriente, called in protest against the revolutionary tribunals for being too soft on war criminals. On the same day demonstrations gathered before revolutionary headquarters in Manicaragua, in Las Villas province, shouting protests against the giving of jobs to former policemen who had mistreated citizens under the Batista regime.

Mid-March, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 4(40) 25 Toronto—Price 5 cen

# Support NFLD Loggers by 24 Hour Work Stoppage

Fine and strong words of solidarity with the harassed Newfoundland loggers have been uttered by the leaders of organized labor. Canadian labor should "strike back with all the militant spirit of former years," said Henry Weisbach, CLC Ontario director of education, to trade unionists at Niagara Falls. "By that I don't mean civil war," he added, "even though in Newfoundland it may be necessary."

Recalling the heroism of the Hungarian workers in the face of overwhelming odds, the CLC Newfoundland regional director has spoken of "another Budapest, with loss of life."

Everyone should support the loggers "even if we have to assess every union member in Canada a day's pay," said Douglas Hamilton, secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labor. He added, to the cheering of Toronto labor council delegates, a general strike of at least a week by Newfoundland unions would show "the rest of the people are with the striking loggers".

No one, least of all Weisbach and Hamilton, can seriously talk about the rest of Newfoundland labor coming out on general strike to help win the loggers' struggle. Newfoundland labor has been split, vigilante groups are being incited to harass the IWA, by the Smallwood government, the paper corporations, and the RCMP.

But there are the massive unbroken ranks of Canada's 1½ million organized workers in positions of strength right across the country. They can change the relationship of forces in Newfoundland and bring colossal pressure against the entire capitalist class and their political stooges.

It won't be another Budapest. It need not even be called a strike, so that not one contract is broken. But a one day general holiday across Canada, a demonstration of power by organized labor, would show that "the rest of the people are with the striking loggers."

Translate the good words into deeds! Send out the call! Line up the forces! BC labor is already talking general strike against the repressive laws passed by the Bennett government. Locals in the Toronto area are talking of a 24 hour general holiday. Time is running out! Actions, not words, are needed!

## Belgians Strike Against Lay-offs

Belgian coal miners, faced with a somewhat similar situation to the Toronto area Avro-Orenda workers, launched a general strike last month that lasted for almost a week.

An estimated 23,000 miners walked out in the Borinage coal basin when the government announced plans to shut down "uneconomic" mines employing 6,000 of their number. On February 18 the Socialist Trade Union Federation called for a general mine strike in solidarity. Over 100,000 responded in a militant demonstration of determination not to let the government and mine operators make them the victims of a growing crisis in the industry.

The strikers did not win their demand that the shutdown be rescinded. Instead their leaders accepted a compromise under which the government will guarantee to resettle and find work for those displaced.

The strikers were bucking all the governments allied in the ropean market. The 120 million dollars turned over to the Belgian goverument had been handed over to the operators in the form of a $6 a ton subsidy to lower prices instead of to retrain and re-employ displaced miners.

munity which has been pressing the Belgian government to shut down "uneconomic" mines in order to meet competition of US coal being dumped on the European market. The 120 mil-

Vanguard 1959 #40 March

# SEL & MTL COUNCIL EXCHANGE IDEAS

## ON NEED FOR CORRECT INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

By ROSS DOWSON of the SEL

The founding of the Montreal Council of Socialist Clubs, not to speak of its flourishing, cannot help but be a source of great satisfaction for thinking workers across the country. Tim Buck and his cohorts have always claimed that to leave the Labor Progressive Party—in the case of the majority of the members of Council, to be kicked out—is to travel the path of oblivion—into the ranks of the deserters and renegades from the Marxist movement.

There would appear to be considerable evidence to support this claim. So far there is only one movement, outside of the world Communist Parties, laying claim to the Leninist tradition, that has managed to sustain itself on an international scale and has persistantly attempted to apply the Marxist method to the problems of our epoch—the movement identified with the name of Leon Trotsky.

The Council of Socialist Clubs is not at all fulfilling the dire curse of Buck. On the contrary, it is making serious attempts to come to grips with the most important questions confronting Canadian socialists. The document presented by Henri Gagnon to the council and to thinking workers across the country last month, marked a stride forward in this direction—if only for two positions that it firmly expounds.

**The council stands to, at the banner inscribed—For a Marxist-Leninist Party, the purpose of which is to establish workers' power in this country. After a searching analysis it concludes that contrary to the charges of the red baiters, common opinion, and its own claims, the Labor Progressive Party is not a Marxist-Leninist party but is revisionist, is a party that has a co-existence policy with Canadian capitalism. The council is not for a class collaborationist but for a class struggle policy.**

The Socialist Educational League stands firmly on these grounds, shoulder to shoulder with the Council of Socialist Clubs.

Having established these requisites it is necessary that all those who hold to these positions openly and honestly discuss with one another the many problems involved in their realization. The formal proclamation of such a party is the least important aspect of the whole matter. Indeed at this time it is somewhat premature —for the scattering of forces that are to be the human material for the nucleus of this party come from different backgrounds and have different experiences which must be assimilated.

Besides, we are not exactly the pioneers in this project. There is much to learn from what has gone before. The work of beginning anew to build the Canadian Marxist-Leninist party in Canada commenced back in 1934, under the leadership of the most able theoretician of the Communist Party, Morris Spector, and Jack Macdonald, its national secretary up until 1938. Buck was leading the party, then called the Communist Party, not on what today Gagnon sees as a classical revisionist path, but on an ultra leftist course—of red trade unionism, and charges of social fascism flung at the CCF. A few years later another of the CP's founding leaders, Bill Moriarity shortly to be joined by Mike Buhay, raised the same banner from the vantage point that they thought it most likely to succeed. Then in 1945 came the former BC provincial leader, Fergus McKean. Gagnon himself had some valuable experiences following his expulsion in 1947 until his readmission into the LPP shortly after the Khrushchev revelations.

**All these experiences must be assimilated by the forces that would build a Canadian Marxist-Leninist party — and all of them bear out the Leninist dictum that without a revolutionary program there can be no revolutionary party and no revolutionary action. It is the beginning of wisdom to understand the programmatic bankruptcy of the LPP—but only a beginning—to the development of a Marxist-Leninist program for the Canadian working class. Leninists unlike all others start from the program.**

Not only must the projected Marxist-Leninist party be organizationally independent, but it must be unconditionally politically independent of all other parties and formations in the working class movement in order to assure its success.

If the differences that the newly organized party has with the LPP prove to be only of a conjunctural character, and not deep going and fundamental, then a change in conjunctural events will see the party torn apart. If the differences are not fundamental then it will not be possible for the newly formed party to justify its independent existence before the workers whose support it seeks.

In our epoch the international view of such a party is decisive. In our epoch, the epoch of imperialism, of world economy and world politics, no single party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country. The national orientation of the working class must and can flow only from a world orientation and

See WORLD—Overleaf

# WORLD ORIENTATION—

(From Overleaf)

not vice versa—this is the very essence of Marxism-Leninism.

It comes as a startling surprise that the world orientation projected by the Gagnon document, is different in no fundamental way from that of the LPP. In fact while Buck is welcomed and formally seated by Khrushchev as representing the Canadian party of Marxism-Leninism, and the World Marxist Review solidarizes itself with Buck's campaign against Gagnon and others as revisionists, we read in the Gagnon document that Buck has failed to understand and adopt the "new course" outlined by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress to which it gives its whole-hearted and uncritical approval.

Is it Khrushchev who is under illusions? Has the wiley Tim Buck put something over on the editors of World Marxist Review? Or is Gagnon required to probe the matter more profoundly?

**To be sure the Gagnon document identifies itself with the struggle to abolish the exploitation of man by man, with the anti-imperialist struggle of the colonial masses and the struggle for working class power everywhere—declaring its solidarity with all communist and workers parties. But what communist, what workers parties? A struggle to build Marxist-Leninist parties, parallel to the one in Canada against the revisionist LPP, has been taking place across the entire globe.**

In far away Ceylon, for instance, there is a Communist Party—and there is also the Lanka Sama Samaja. The differences between these parties are not a hang-over from some distant and now inconsequential conflict of the past, nor in the psychological maladjustment of a few leaders, as any worker in Colombo will tell you. The differences are of burning immediacy—to support the LSSP is to struggle against the capitalist Bandaranaike government; to support the CP is to act as a strikebreaker in this struggle. In the United States there is a Communist Party—and there is also the Marxist-Leninist Socialist Workers Party. The former supports the capitalist Democratic Party—the SWP is working for the regroupment of socialist forces for anti-capitalist struggle.

A similar situation to that in Canada, Ceylon, and the United States, exists in every country in the capitalist world. Which communist, which workers party are we in solidarity with? This question, in the mind of every thinking worker, must be answered for it is in the unbreakable union with his co-thinkers in other lands that he sees the confirmation of the correctness of his own position.

## "COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES"

**While this question is not answered by the Gagnon document with regard to communist and workers parties in the capitalist world, it is unfortunately clearly and unmistakably answered with regard to those sections of the world where the revolution has destroyed capitalist property relations and established a planned economy. According to the document these parties are building "socalism".**

Kadar's party? This puppet clique propped up by the bayonets of the Soviet Army—that has thrust into prison more communists than the dread Horthy regime—that has been jammed down over the blood and bones of those who heroically struggled to erect genuine workers councils on the nationalized property relations? Solidarity with what party? With Gomulka, head of the Polish Communist Party, who threatened to mobilize the workers of Warsaw against Khrushchev, head of the CPSU, when he menaced Poland with an invasion by the Red Army? Solidarity with the party of Tito over which Khrushchev blows hot, then cold, labels at one time a running dog of imperialism and then a fraternal party?

There are obviously massive contradictions that are overlooked, ignored in the Gagnon formula of solidarity with communist and workers parties. It is our opinion that the revolution lives in the Soviet areas but that its instrument is not at all the communist parties there. Quite the contrary!

For us the Marxist-Leninist analysis and program requires identification with the revolutionary achievements of the past, the nationalized property relations and the planned economy, and solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of today—against Stalin, the murderer of the Bolshevik party of Lenin, and Stalin's heir-Nikita Khrushchev.

No one can defy the laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism. In the long run these truths will prevail. For a whole historic period the world Communist Parties appeared to be immune. The LPP was a powerful factor on the Canadian political scene—the fight for a genuine Marxist-Leninist party seemed hopeless. History is catching up with the LPP. It is now a shadow of its former self. Not, we should note at this time, due to a testing that took place on the Canadian arena of the class struggle, but due to its false international orientation.

**The possibilities for the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party are better than they have been for many a decade. To realize these possibilities it is necessary to fully bring into play the powerful tools of analysis that we have inherited, and for all those who claim adherence to this banner, to thoroughly and fraternally discuss and exchange views on all the problems involved.**

WV #40 Mid-March '59

Vanguard

# FOR A CORRECT ATTITUDE TO CDN WORKING CLASS

Mid-Mar '59

By P. KENT

Henri Gagnon's contribution to the discussion on the building of a Marxist-Leninist party in Canada does not deal with the programmatic demands that such a party must present to the workers in order to win them to the establishment of a planned economy and all the organs of democratic control of a socialist society—other than to state that it stands on the side of the class struggle in contra-distinction to the revisionism of the Labor Progressive Party. We are promised, by the editor of La Voie Canadienne that this will be taken up in subsequent issues.

Gagnon does however devote considerable attention to the various tendencies within the Canadian working class movement, the CCF, the LPP, etc. Some of the following comments parallel his; others are at considerable variance with them.

While Canadian Marxists-Leninists must proceed from their world outlook they must study the specific feature of their own country. They must learn to apply the lessons and experiences of the world-wide struggle, to the unique problems of the class struggle in their own country. Failing this their doctrine will prove to be sterile and they will degenerate into an isolated sect of observers and commentators on events which pass them by.

We must not only understand the political social and economic structure of all of Canadian society. Above all we must have as correct an evaluation as possible of the working class movement. And not only the broad lines but all the tendencies, the shadings and nuances.

Without sinking deep roots in the trade union movement, the basic economic organizations of the working class, the party is doomed. It must project a program; to preserve the independence of the unions from the encroachments of the state, for internal democracy, for a new leadership with a revolutionary policy.

It is far from sufficient to characterize the CCF as a Social Democratic or reformist party, which it is. Despite the false program of the CCF and the treachery of its leadership it remains the primary form that independent labor political action takes on in this country. The Marxist-Leninists must give it critical support and attempt to link up wherever possible their forces with whatever left currents appear in the CCF.

A new movement is arriving on the scene which is to supplant the CCF—a labor party more firmly connected to the trade union movement. It is vital, particularly in this, its formative period, that we get into it with all of our energies and attempt to give it a class program.

It is a grave error to look upon the LPP as a sect, a sterile and spent force in Canadian politics. It remains, and it will be for some

See CANADIAN—Overleaf

# CANADIAN MOVEMENTS

(From Overleaf)

period, the main contender of the Marxist-Leninist party, or its nucleus, for the adherence of the advanced workers. The LPP has certainly revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism. But it is not a revisionist party of the classical type—it is not a reformist party of the classical type for its revisionism does not flow from capitulation to the pressures of Canadian capitalism. The source is elsewhere and it is this that prohibits what would otherwise be a powerful tendency towards organic unity, fusion with the CCF. The source is elsewhere.

Any movement that holds the position that the LPP is a classical revisionist party will be taken by some rude surprises and will prove unable to define a consistant and correct orientation to this party. For the LPP is capable of making left turns, revolutionary zigs and ultra leftist zags with great cost to its numbers, it is true, but nonetheless with suddenness. The Gagnon document's outline of the revisionist policies of the LPP is correct but insufficient to really understand the LPP.

Duclos certainly put an end to the revisionism of Browder but not to the revisionism of the American Communist Party—bereft of Browder. The most blatant period of revisionism, not touched upon by Gagnon, was prior to and during the Second World War. Prior to the war Buck advocated a Popular Front, another and even broader version of Liberal-Labor Coalition. It, in effect, advocated an anti-fascist war under the leadership of British, French and American imperialism. When Stalin made a pact with Hitler this war was branded imperialist. When Hitler "betrayed" Stalin, what was an imperialist war on the part of Canada, and defensist on the part of the harassed workers state, became a people's war, with Buck and company leaping to the side of the Liberals, campaigning for the no-strike pledge, scabbing and scab-herding, and calling for conscription.

Even the period surveyed by comrade Gagnon, while having the appearance of classical revisionism, witnessed some sharp veerings. With the outbreak of the cold war and the definitive rupture of the Liberal-Labor (in reality LPP) coalition, the LPP attacked King as the "hired spokesman for monopoly" and supported the CCF as a "progressive alternative". Suddenly, in Feb. 1949, the LPP, while there had been no change in CCF policy, announced that the CCF was "no longer a progressive alternative" to the boss parties. Theory for the LPP is not an instrument of analysis but a tool for rationalization of policies which do not flow from the Canadian scene—neither from the interests of the Canadian working class nor pressures of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

And what about those who have broken from the LPP and who are neither part of the Council of Socialist Clubs nor participants in the activities to realize the regroupment of the Canadian left? To abandon the LPP, which is not a Marxist-Leninist party, is not at all, to abandon Marxism-Leninism. And while those already at work to build anew may regret many ex-LPPers standing on the side lines, there is no reason to supplement the slanders that Buck and company fling. It is not a matter of "defending" this or that person but having a correct attitude to a whole layer who to varying degrees consider themselves to be socialists.

It is the regroupment of these forces, the discussion of such material as the council is circulating, and the searching out of the possibilities for commonly agreed upon actions, that will provide the forces at this juncture for a Marxist-Leninist party.

THE WORKERS'
# Vanguard

Mid April, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 5(41) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

## FREE EARL LAING, VICTIM OF NFLD UNION BUSTING!

Stop the judicial murder and martyrdom of Earl Laing!

This 39 year old father of six stands in the Newfoundland dock charged with murder, charged with responsibility for the death of a constable struck down during the RCMP assault on striking loggers at Badger.

He is innocent! The real culprits are the wealthy British pulp and paper corporations who refuse to pay more than the miserable disease breeding wage of $1.05 an hour. They are Premier Smallwood, the Liberal and Tory MLA's, who as abject servants of the multi-millionaire corporations have passed Nazi-like legislation outlawing unions in Newfoundland and have utilized the RCMP, as the minister of justice admitted when refusing reinforcements, for "the furtherance of a project to extinguish a union from the province".

They are now manipulating the corpse of a victim of their schemings, and the life of Earl Laing, to further their attacks on the organized labor movement. Immediately after the arrest of Laing and eight others, Smallwood himself suggested their innocence, and the real issue at stake when he said that it is too bad their number did not include the "real criminals"—union leaders Harvey Ladd, Jeff Hall and John McCool.

In the trial of Earl Laing justice is being violated. Freedom and democracy, words that so smoothly roll from the tongue of Smallwood and his crown attorney, who combines that post with a directorship in Bowaters, are besmirched. The Canadian people and the Canadian labor movement are on trial.

Demand that the charge against Earl Laing be dropped, that the hundreds who have been arrested and fined be cleared, and that the scores languishing in the penitentiary be released at once.

## Gallup Polls 30 for 40

One of the demands that this paper and many trade union militants across the country have identified themselves with—the shorter work week—has finally received the attention of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion.

The Gallup Poll's interest, of course, is hardly academic. Quite correctly they consider the matter to be an important one. Can it be because the idea is catching on? That is what we conclude from reading the release, for it is apparent that besides handing us a report of sorts on the opinion of the Canadian people, they are also attempting to influence public thinking on the matter.

The release is headed WORK DOESN'T FAZE US. As if those advocating the shorter work week to meet the mounting problem of unemployment, and at the same time grant man more leisure to develop his cultural and creative self, are a pack of lazy loafers. The opening sentence characterizes the demand for a sliding scale of hours to guarantee jobs for all, as a "make work suggestion," some kind of project whereby Canadian taxpayers will carry a bunch of freeloaders.

The question itself, whether "you would like to see" a four day week, eight hours each day, "adopted by most industries in the country," would appear to be a fair one. But it is loaded because it is not correctly motivated. What makes the shorter work week necessary, not just a desire for human progress, is the fact that almost a million workers in this country are now unemployed, with many of those employed working long hours, with some working overtime.

Any objections to answering yes to this question, on the basis that a shorter work week would result in a cut in weekly pay for those now working—would in effect be a program to "share the poverty"—are only met by a second question. It is presented after you have committed yourself on the previous one. After it has been suggested that the shorter work week is a scheme for freeloaders, you are asked if the freeloaders should get paid at a higher hourly rate—whether the take home pay should remain the same.

Notwithstanding the loaded character of the questioning, and in no way underwriting the results, the answers as recorded are of considerable interest. According to the poll almost one-third of Canadian adults are in favor of the four day work week. Almost half of those in whose family there are unionists are in favor. On the second question—over half think that the shorter work week should get the same take home pay.

While a higher percentage of Canadians than Americans favor the shorter work week, 13 per cent more Americans than Canadians in whose family there are unionists favor it. As one might expect, the agricultural west has least understanding of this demand. No doubt the farmers fear that the industrialists will attempt to shield their profits by shifting the costs onto their shoulders. According to the poll three-quarters of them are opposed to any reduction of the working week in industry. The idea has taken firmest root in Quebec and the Maritimes where 44 per cent favor it.

WV #41 Mid-April '59

The Militant Vanguard

# The Kind of Program Socialists Should Present to Working Class

By PAUL KANE

What kind of program do Canada's revolutionary socialists need to bring clarity to the left, to correctly, and not in abstract theoretical terms, define the differences between those who call themselves socialists, but are retreating to reformism, and those who are seeking the socialist answers to the problems of our times?

How are the socialists to pose the need to establish socialism in Canada, in meaningful terms, not only to gather the cadre, but, given a favorable turn of events, to mobilize the masses in struggles which will lead to the establishment of workers' power?

What kind of dialogue must the socialists carry on with the working class?

These questions confront the participants in the cross-Canada conferences and discussions on the new labor party who are seeking to launch this new formation with a correct, that is, a class struggle program. They have long plagued those who have fought for a socialist policy in the CCF. The answers are being sought by those who in the past two years have shaken themselves loose from the "revisionist" Labor Progressive Party and are seeking their way to the formation of a genuine Marxist Leninist party. These questions are on the floor of the forums and discussions through which it is hoped the revolutionary socialists in this country will be regrouped. The following comments are a contribution to these discussions.

The program of the left must be scientific. It must be based on a dispassionate analysis of the objective, the real situation, confronting us. That is why it must be revolutionary—for we live in the most revolutionary epoch in history. One third of the world's population lives under a planned economy, whole continents are being torn in revolutionary struggle from the domination and exploitation of capitalism. Within a generation we have had two world wars of unprecedented destruction and suffered cataclysmic economic crises and depressions. Atomic energy, automation, space travel are changing the universe—a third world war, which would destroy humanity, looms on the horizon.

Reform or revolution is no longer a matter of choice! The revolution is here—sweeping across the globe. Capitalism promises not an amelioration of conditions but atomic destruction of mankind.

**The program, therefore, at the same time that it must take into account the peculiar conditions in each country and even in each part of Canada, cannot be adapted to the immediate mood or mentality of the mass. This is transitory—the understanding may be backward and the task is to bring it up to a true understanding of the facts. As Trotsky, the organizer of the October insurrection, once put it—"The crisis of society is given as the base of our activity—the mentality is the political arena of our activity—we must change it."**

To be sure, the program must be a class program—must be based on the class struggle, no matter the level of its development. But to stand on the side of the class struggle is not necessarily to have the capacity to develop a meaningful class struggle program.

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WV #41

From page 1 "Kind of Program"

## BRIDGE THE PRESENT TO THE FUTURE

In this country we have two groups, shadows of their former selves, the Socialist Labor Party and the old Socialist Party of Canada, which, there is no question, stand firmly on a class position. But neither has a class struggle program. Both are for socialism—on the other hand, they are opposed to reforms. Between the present and the future lies a wide and yawning chasm which, as they pose it, is unbridgeable.

They see reforms as diverting the struggle for fundamental change, and the source of the corruption of the labor movement. It is true that through concessions, many of which, incidentally, were won through broad and sometimes extremely sharp class conflicts, the capitalist class has corrupted almost the entire working class leadership, whole layers of what are essentially wage workers, and broad sections of the working class. But the process towards socialism cannot be speeded up by opposing reforms. The possibilities of capitalism, including its capacity to grant reforms, cannot be exhausted by the subjective will.

The primary organizations of the working class have been built in the struggle for better conditions. In our times, in this epoch of capitalist decline, when no new deep and lasting reforms can be won, when there is a developing assault against those already won, proponents of the class struggle are not able and have no desire to abstain from the fight for reforms or for their defence—this struggle is more and more tending to take on a revolutionary character.

While socialists do not stand opposed to reforms, in fact they can and must encompass them in their program, the essential character of their program must be such as to lead the working class forward in struggle to socialist consciousness. The program must bridge, must weld the present demands of the masses, developed in the process of daily struggle, to the program, of fundamental change, of social revolution.

The SLP and SP have not solved this problem and remain on an island divorced from the real process of the struggle, commenting on passing events, repeating "abstract fundamental, timeless" truths —which they pass off as Marxism.

The problem doesn't even exist for the leaders of the CCF. They are not searching for a bridge for they do not seek to cross over from capitalism. Their cancelling out of the Regina Manifesto with the Winnipeg Declaration was designed to make it clear, if there could any longer be doubts, that socialism was not even to be a subject for speechifying on festive occasions. Since their perspective is to make capitalism work they have no need for anything more than a handy assorted package of reforms, the less defined and committed, the better.

But over the years there have been socialists in the CCF who, concerned about the persistent whittling away of the socialist perspective from the program, and its fading from the holiday speechifying of the leadership, have fought to retain it as the party's ultimate objective. While standing on the class struggle, even identifying themselves as Marxists, with few exceptions they failed to develop an alternative program. They stood on the same reformist program as the leadership and failed to transcend it.

Their struggle, therefore, tended to revolve around maintaining words in the program that had already been emptied of all content. With considerable effect the right wing's lawyer, David Lewis, could charge the opposition with disruption, label it narrow, conservative, dogmatic, as the struggle degenerated into organizational maneuverings, innuendo and gossip. As the left failed to organize on a programmatic basis, with the continued relative prosperity, everything favored the right — and its main forces were dissipated in a series of explosive ruptures.

The LPP's revisionism of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, as sketched out by Henri Gagnon and the Council of Socialist Clubs, has not, of course, remained in the texts and in party files. The LPP has become what is actually a reformist party. Earl Browder recently admitted in a public debate that the American Communist Party under the years of his leadership — and the same holds for today—"was correctly described by the Trotskyites as a reformist party with revolutionary trimmings". Stalinist revisionism has permeated the LPP's program which is no more socialist than that of the CCF, indeed on some occasions it has been far to the right—though couched in dynamic words which the CCF's is so pitifully lacking in.

## PROGRESS MADE

Important progress in the development and application of a socialist program that stems from the present level of consciousness of the working class and leads unmistakably into struggle against the capitalist order of things, has been made in the pages of Workers Vanguard and its predecessor Labor Challenge.

The sliding scale of wages—the escalator clause—designed to defend living standards and maintain the fighting capacity of the workers by guaranteeing automatic wage increases with the rising cost of living, became the demand of millions. The demand for consumers' committees on prices, empowered to investigate all spheres of economic life, look into the financial structure of the corporations, open their books, has been recently raised by the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor. The demands for a popular referendum on the question of war or peace, for the shorter work week at the same take-home pay, are, among others, what has been called a transitional program—a program of action from today until the beginning of the social revolution. We will comment further on this program in the next issue.

Vanguard #41 Mid-April '59

# Think It Over . . . Mid Apr 59

## by P. Kent

Sometimes something happens—something of staggering impact. You are never the same for it—never again. It's shocking, it's an afront—cutting through all your previous concepts. It may be joyful, exuberating—or it may be tragic, staggering. Perhaps broad and expansive, maybe tiny, pointed; but you are never the same person again. Possibly the ads have ruined the phrase, but it is really—a moment of truth.

That's how Jean-Paul Fugere, an intellectual, feels about the strike—the picket line, the financial difficulties, and the camaraderie that he and other Montreal CBC employees established a couple of months ago. I am, he says, no longer "the same Jean-Paul Fugere that I was on December 29 when the strike began. We have lived an experience. We have lived an experience that the men working on the inside, even if they were sympathetic to us, have not lived. Our great preoccupation now shall be to see that we do not lose the friendship we have made during the strike."

The CBC workers won their strike and so Jean-Paul's experience is a completely happy and satisfactory one. We can all understand it and all share it. But in the small hamlets along the railroad, off the highway, in the cabins on the edge of the domains of the pulp and paper corporations, in Newfoundland, there is bitterness, rancor, defeat.

Cocky, strutting Smallwood. Smug administrators of the British investors in Bowaters and Anglo-Newfoundland Development, sitting in their company houses, their veneered and carpeted offices. Company-union head Max Lane, with his corps of renegades around him, feeling they have a good thing—Messrs. Labor supreme. But they are uneasy. Oh yes, big men ! But they are a circle of avarice, greed, duplicity—a tiny island in a surface-calm but turbulent, churning sea.

Elizabeth—Beth Paul—her picture flashed across the press. An ordinary enough woman, in her late fifties, looking straight into the camera with a shy smile. You've read what life is like in poverty stricken Newfoundland? She's lived it. Her face shows it. She's raised three sons. This much we know for there she was at Badger—all three sons seized and jailed by the RCMP—doing something she could never have even dreamed of before—standing in their place on the picket line.

The young men in their late teens, early twenties, rough clothed, only a few years from the loneliness of the outports, jostling and fooling in the union headquarters, listening to union spokesmen at mass meetings, discussing wages and conditions, something they had just accepted before as being determined by others. Choosing captains, defense squads, standing in the cold on the picket lines, finding themselves and one another. The scabs—kids, who had never had a dime to jingle in their pockets, older men cut off welfare, frightened, desperate, telling mainland reporters that they all agree with the union, but—then they lower their heads.

Yes, Max Lane, things will never be the same on Newfoundland. The young people won't turn back to the ways of their fathers to survive; ". . .fish, and grow some vegetables, and cut some wood and do this and that." They just don't believe "that the company bent over backwards this time", and that it "cannot continue to bend over and still continue operating". Not any of your programs of adult education and entertainment will "take their minds off the problems"; or stop them from telling stories and grumbling, as you put it.

As for your statement that "the loggers and people of this island have been misled by foreigisms. I don't know what to call them—Communism, Socialism, Trotskyism." What truth there is in this I do not know. But it seems to me that they just stood up like men, and having found what that is like, they will continue to attempt to be men. Trotskyism, Socialism, Communism? Call it what you like, Mr. Lane !

Defeated? Perhaps ! But they have started to fight—and the battle has not yet been joined. They have had their moment of truth. They have found themselves and tested their strength as a class—and will never be the same for it. This is defeat through which victory will be gained !

The Workers Vanguard

Mid May, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 6(42) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

# VOTE CCF AND BUILD FARMER-LABOR PARTY

By ROSS DOWSON

Elections in the prairie provinces of Manitoba and Alberta and in industrial Ontario are slated for this month and early next month. All four major parties will be fielding almost complete slates, with Social Credit concentrating its efforts in Alberta where it has held office since 1935. The Tory Manitoba government, through the second election in one year, is attempting to win a clear majority over its Liberal and CCF opposition. Leslie Frost is seeking to cap 10 years as Tory premier of Ontario with another term in office.

The Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and Social Credit, over TV, on the radio, through the press and at a scattering of razzle dazzle rallies, will be re-promising old promises, telling some of the truth about one another but not one, the truth about itself. What appears more or less tolerable to the electorate they will claim to be the result of their policies. What is unsatisfactory, disturbing or even alarming, they will declare to be the responsibility of other levels of government, that nothing can be done. Everything that the Tories, Liberals and Social Credit do or say will be designed to wheedle votes and at the same time cover up their true character as political instruments loyal to the interests of the capitalist class who control the economy of this country.

In Ontario, as the economy moves out of the slump, there are almost 200,000, approximately one out of ten of the work force, unemployed. Considerably less than 10,000 were helped by the federal-provincial employment program. The Tory government failed to act to win jobs for the Avro-Orenda workers. Frost himself urged that there should be no talk of a moratorium on mortgage debts, which are compelling thousands still unemployed to sell their homes, for fear that government bondholders would react unfavorably.

In Manitoba, an area where fall out from continued H Bomb testing is possibly the heaviest in the entire world, at a time when everywhere fear is growing about the degree of concentration and the danger that it holds for human existence on the globe, premier Roblin states that there is no cause for alarm, that Strontium 90 concentration is at a "safe level". The Tory government has failed to ally itself with the Winnipeg City Council's call for the stopping of all tests.

The great natural resources of all three provinces, instead of being retained and developed in the

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WV #42

# VOTE CCF AND BUILD FARMER-LABOR PARTY

(From page 1)

interests of the population, have been turned over to financial tycoons for ruthless exploitation. Thanks to Social Credit the fabulous oil resources of Alberta have become the private preserve of US oil moguls. The Roblin government has turned over gas distribution in the Winnipeg area on a 25 year lease to private interests who will gouge $35 million out of consumers. Members of the Ontario cabinet were compelled to resign when their part in the killing made through their turning natural gas distribution over to private interests was exposed by CCF leader Donald Macdonald.

**The drive against the right to organize, to strike and to picket, spearheaded by the Liberal-Tory combination in Newfoundland and Social Credit in BC, is underway on the prairies and Ontario. Social Credit is again exposing its quasi-fascist character in its dealings with organized labor in Alberta. Should the Tories be returned to office in Ontario there is little doubt that recommendations from a parliamentary committee, making it tougher to organize new unions, designed to tie up unions in the courts, etc., will be implemented.**

The only alternative to the parties of Big Business is the CCF. The new labor party projected by the 1958 Canadian Labor Congress convention has not arrived on the scene. The failure of the CLC leadership and the CCF to meet aspirations for a more broadly based, more working class, more democratic militant movement, by laying down the foundations for the farmer-labor party before 1960, seriously compromises the success of the CCF in these elections.

Programmatically the CCF campaign is very weak. The patch work of modest reforms that the leadership has presented to the electorate does not even suggest the great possibilities that workers and farmers governments in these provinces would open up. Leading spokesmen have compromised the program they now advocate by their past actions. Apart from not urging provincial ownership of AVRO - ORENDA, Ontario leader Macdonald failed to even demand the moratorium for AVRO unemployed that he now advocates. The demand for provincial ownership of gas distribution is seriously compromised by Frost's exposure of the CCF leadership's failure to campaign for public ownership on the municipal arena.

**Instead of appearing as a movement for peace, the CCF suggests only a sentiment for it. As recent as March 23, when it is apparent that there is no defence against intercontinental missiles, and when every scientist who hasn't prostituted himself to the apostles of brinkmanship is crying out against radioactive fallout, parliamentary leader Hazen Argue urged the Diefenbaker government to establist a committee to "study" these matters.**

"A whole generation of voters," wrote the editor of the official Saskatchewan CCF press last month "don't think of it (the CCF) as anything special." But it is not because "the CCF has been around as long as they can remember" but because of the leadership's failure to present a decisive alternative program to the demagogic promises of the capitalist parties.

Endorsed by the organized labor movement and fielding an extensive list of candidates, the CCF nonetheless poses the issue of workers' and farmers' political power in all three provinces. A CCF debacle would be a setback for the new labor party. A powerful vote behind the CCF would be a victory on the forward march to a labor party, a workers-farmers government in Ottawa, and a socialist Canada.

Vanguard #42 Editorials Mid-May 59

# Talk and Deeds on Cleaning Corruption from the Unions

Mid-May 59

By THE EDITORS

That there is corruption in the ranks of the union leadership has become an accepted fact by every strata of the Canadian population. A massive campaign of moral indignation against it has been pouring over us from Bennett's British Columbia, Smallwood's Newfoundland, from Senatorial Investigation committees in the south, from Queen's Park, from every point in the compass.

We have always held the opinion that those who are now accusing the labor brass of crimes, which have at no time been exactly a secret, are not at all concerned with corruption in the union movement. They are whooping it up not to cleanse the labor movement but to screen their campaign to impose a strait jacket on the unions and destroy them. Indeed they couldn't get along without corruption, as anyone knows, for a union leader to sell out the rank and file it is necessary to have a boss to make the deal with.

So that no one can doubt that Smallwood's and Bennett's concern is sheer hypocricy and fail to see the real purpose of their hue and cry against corruption, all we have to do is take a look at recent developments in the Toronto area involving Local 198 of the Teamsters union—whose international leader is James Hoffa himself.

If the bosses and their political stooges were really sincere in their demonstrative concern for democracy in the trade union movement one would think that they would have rejoiced at the actions of Local 198. After all, didn't the local membership reject the leadership of Hoffa when they rejected the contract that his underlings had tried to thrust down their throats? Wasn't it also the essence of democracy when the rank and file of this union elected a committee of 40 of their members to represent them in negotiations with the companies?

With one blow Labor Minister Daley and the company representatives cut across all the propaganda of the Senate investigating

See A LESSON FROM — page 3

## — a lesson from Local 198

(From page 1)

committees and all the pious attempts to justify anti-labor legislation. They refused to talk to what they called individuals, the democratically chosen representatives of the truckers. Instead they would only meet with the lieutenants of Hoffa whom they called in from Detroit to bring this rebel union into line. They would rather deal with those, who in a different situation they have called "pimps", "highwaymen and outlaws", "gangsters", than have to negotiate directly with the rank and file.

Now that the local has been placed in quasi-trusteeship not one editorial comment has been written in protest by the daily press which previously so indignantly condemned this practice. No doubt they would rather have the local in this strait jacket than have it with a militant rank and file leadership.

The teamsters rank and file struggle has not only exposed with glaring clarity the fraud of all government and employer agency declamations against corruption in the labor movement. With equal clarity it highlights the only force which can and does struggle against the union brass. True, the membership of Local 198 have been temporarily blocked in their efforts to make their union a more democratic, a more effective instrument to defend and extend their interests, by the Hoffa-employer-Frost government combination. But they and important layers of unionists have no doubt obtained a clearer insight into the problem confronting them.

# A Question of Unity

Mid MAY 59

Unity is a right idea. We are all for it, no matter how far along it goes in the direction we want to go. Even if it's for just a couple of whistle stops on the way. The motion must be forward, that's all we ask, not backward.

Right now in Quebec there is a lot of talk about uniting all the forces in the province that are opposed to Premier Duplessis and his government. Amongst Duplessis' crimes—and they are legion—are his fierce assaults on elementary civil rights—his curbing of all religious groups other than the Catholic hierarchy to freely propagate their views, his harrassment of workers who seek to organize in unions of their own choice for better hours and conditions, not to speak of socialists attempting to circulate their opinions. There is certainly lots of room and plenty of forces available for purposeful unity of action against Duplessis.

Some prominent Liberals, who saw their machine take an unprecedented beating from the Tories last federal election, say they are all for it in a manifesto that is now being circulated. So do leading spokesmen of the Rassemblement, the Montreal Civic Action league, student activists and members of the CCF who have signed it. But the proposition is not a united action around some specific issue that will broaden and make more dynamic the anti-Duplessis struggle. The manifesto proposes an electoral bloc, a new party, or failing this a common program and agreement to run only one opposition candidate in a riding so that the opposition vote is not split.

The Liberals, who would be the biggest single factor in the bloc, have no record of distinction in the struggle against Duplessis, either in the province or federally. They were in office several years following Duplessis' writing the infamous Padlock Law into the books and made no effort to tear it out. We heard no significant statements from that source when Duplessis was crushing the Murdochville strike nor any identification on their part with the bitter struggle for religious freedom waged by Jehovah's Witnesses. The same holds true for the Montreal Civic Action League.

Besides, the blocs with which we are most familiar in this country have been alliances of Liberals, Tories and Social Credit—against the working people's cause—against the CCF. In France and Spain, in the thirties, Popular Fronts, supposed to defeat fascism and prevent World War II, did neither. They did weaken the worker elements—the only thorough and to-the-end opponents of fascism. The proposed Quebec front, if it were formed and were able to defeat Duplessis, would not destroy Duplessis-ism—for the Liberals in Newfoundland, for instance, are taking that path even if at a different tempo.

The Quebec CCF is committed to action that is entirely divergent, in a totally different direction, from that of the major members of the proposed bloc. The sum total will not be a plus sign insofar as the CCF is concerned, but a minus sign. It would commit the CCF to urge support in various ridings to a capitalist party and thus undermine its reason to be, both provincially and nationally. That kind of unity bodes no good, takes us back into the pit of class collaboration that we have long fought to get out of.

The future of the CCF, of a labor party, of the working people, lies in their class independence. That is why with considerable satisfaction we note that the weekend institute of the Quebec Federation of Labor at St. Adele, on May 2nd and 3rd declared, in the words of its president, Roger Provost, that no alliance such as suggested in the manifesto would be made.

We, of course, disagree with the understanding arrived at, that the QFL is in no position to do anything in the Quebec 1960 elections because the CLC convention will be held only a few months previous to it, and with the suggestion that the QFL will ask members to vote for the man and not the party. Quebec voters should vote for the principle of independent labor political action. The candidates to permit them to do so must be fielded by the federation.

The Western Vanguard
Mid-June, 1959 WV Vol. 4, No. 7(43) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cen

# BOMARC SHOWS NEED NEW FOREIGN POLICY

By ROSS DOWSON

Canada's defence policy, the course that has been followed both by the Liberal St. Laurent government and the Tory Diefenbaker government, and endorsed by the CCF parliamentary caucus, has come to a dead end. The h miliation that the government ha suffered over its total commitmer to the Bomarc missile is so deva tating that the Globe and Mail ed tors only state the obvious whe they write: "So far as this new paper can judge Canada has n defence policy of any sort wha soever," and the Toronto Star ed tors "that Ottawa has no coheren defence policy".

But it is not just Canada's de fence policy that is bankrupt bu the government's whole foreig policy. The concept that the USSI threatens military attack and po litical subversion on an interna tional scale has been the justifica tion not only for Ottawa's defence policy but its entire foreign policy, alleged to defend Canada throug the NATO alliance, in Korea an elsewhere, right up to the borde of the USSR where Canadia troops are now stationed.

De Gaulle's bargaining to increas French status in the Western a liance hits at Canada's biggest con mitment to NATO. Through hi forcing the withdrawal of U NATO forces from French so de Gaulle also compels the with drawal of Canadian NATO forces dependent on US supplies, to Ger many or back onto Canadian soi These crises in the bi-partisan fo eign policy have reopened th whole question as to what kind o foreign policy the Canadian peopl need.

It is now clear that Canada i defenceless. When the Diefenbake government finally dumped the ou moded Arrow interceptor, afte throwing 400 million dollars dow the drain, it switched over to de pendence on the Pentagon and th Bomarc missile. Completely unde the control of US officials wh even as recently as April 30 boas ed about reserving to themselve "the right to strike the first blow in an atomic holocaust that woul engulf the world, Canadian defenc became totally integrated in a U network of Bomarc bases—two o which are being constructed o Canadian soil—one at Mont Lau ier, Quebec, the other at North Ba Ontario. There is ominous tal about storing nuclear warheads o Canadian soil.

But now, and the evidence i overwhelming despite the Colon Blimpmanship of Defence Ministe and General Pearkes, the US Senat has given official recognition to th fact that the Bomarc is outmoded The US Defence Department di

to Col 2.

from (Page 3)

## Policy Crisis And Bomarc

(Continued from page 1)

Philip. Deane, "because 1,900,000 dollars has already been spent to develop its weapons and it therefore cannot be dropped because of scandal."

Canada has no defence. For the indefinite future it is dependent on nine squadrons of subsonic CF100 fighters already obsolete. It has shared in networks of radar but the radar is useless. Besides it is conceded that the maximum time between detection and contact would be 20 minutes. Pentagon policies are not even geared to the concept of Canada defence. Canada is a preliminary warning area for US defence. The Nike-Hercules bases at border points, if successful in their objective, would not defend Canada but would, through their interception of attackers, turn Canada into a radioactive desert. Canada and the entire US is expendable to the cold war warriors of the US.

### WHY NO ATTACK ?

If all this is humiliating for Ottawa, no one appears to be unduly alarmed — least of all about the Soviet attack which we have been told momentarily threatens us should our guard go down. Why doesn't the USSR attack now? Certainly not because of powerful deterrents on the American continent or, for that matter, the European continent.

It would now appear clear, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that no matter what can be said about the crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, they do not want war. The Soviet Union, unlike the US, has no surpluses but a great shortage of goods, doesn't need new markets nor vast military expenditures to bolster it up, but peace to develop its planned economy.

The failure of the Soviet Union to act upon what is its alleged aim, to assault the West, now confirms the convictions of Montgomery and others that the USSR wants peace, and that the war danger comes from the Pentagon and the cabal of bankrupt rulers and discredited dictators that it has allied itself with, in its attempts to defeat the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles that have unfolded across the globe since World War II.

In a frank statement to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs this month, Canada's deputy minister of national defence for 1949-55, Brigadier Drury, outlined a new foreign policy for Canada. Canada's military contribution is of no importance; we should maintain our military budget, not for arms but in "forms which will protect and reinforce the Canadian identity". Canada's role should be political, a front for the bigger powers—namely the US, he suggests. There is also talk in certain circles of establishing a Canadian neutrality.

But the correct policy for the people of Canada to follow is not one of accommodation within the old policies, nor neutrality in the great struggles taking place across the globe, but to adopt a completely different one.

The Socialist Educational League raised such a policy when in November, 1957 it placed Ross Dowson in contest with the late Minister of Foreign Affairs Sidney Smith for the seat in Hastings-Frontenac.

### PEACE AND FREEDOM

It urged that Canada break from NATO, withdraw its troops from other lands and remove US troops on Canadian soil. Align the Canadian people with the great liberating struggles everywhere. Distribute our surpluses to the needy people of the world. Divert the millions being wasted in military expenditures to a national health plan, and subsidized housing. End agreements and deals that commit Canada to "police actions" and wars without consultation of the people. Take the warmaking power out of the hands of parliament, which has turned it over to all-powerful US generals. Let the people vote on war.

Col. 2
not even bother to ask for funds for Bomarc A. The Senate defeated a move to cut all Bomarc (A and B) procurement by a vote of 178 to 51, despite the fact that Bomarc B has failed in all tests with supersonic targets, has limited altitude as it is an air breather, has a range of only 400 miles, and is absolutely useless before intercontinental ballistic missiles which US spies concede the "enemy" will have operational next year—a full three years before the Bomarc becomes operational.

The Senate passed on further funds after a cut of 162 million dollars but only, according to the Globe and Mail's correspondent

See POLICY CRISIS—page 3

WV #43 Mid-June '59

Vanguard

# Ont. Vote No Real Test Of Labor Party Vision

Mid June '59

By P. KENT

Steelworker leader Eamon Park assured fellow CBC panelists on Ontario provincial election night that the new labor party would be on the political arena next year. But as the returns came in a few hours later it became clear that the CCF didn't help get the new party off to a very good start. Premier Frost and his Tory machine are back in office again with only a drop of two per cent. Their 45 per cent of the vote won them 71 of the 98 seats.

The happy assurances of the trade union and CCF leadership that the Liberals are washed up and that the new labor party will be confronted in a clear contest with the forces of reaction polarized around the Progressive Conservative party, failed to come true. The Ontario Liberals proved to be an effective force. They increased their poll from 33 per cent to 37 per cent and doubled their representation in the house, to 22 seats. The Liberals elected their full slate of three in the industrial Windsor area and for the first time in 22 years won representation in the Toronto area by taking four seats.

CCF leader Donald MacDonald retained his York South seat with a modest increase of 300 votes, as the Tories dropped over 2,000. Oshawa and Hamilton Wentworth stayed in the CCF column showing an increase of 2,500 and 1,200 respectively. The retiring CCF provincial secretary Ken Bryden squeezed into Toronto Woodbine by 200, as the Tories dropped almost 1,000 votes. Hamilton East went CCF by some 1,000 votes as the boss parties dropped over 2,500.

While CCF representation increased from three to five seats, the party failed to increase its percentage of the vote which remained at 17. In the key urban area of Toronto and Yorks, despite a tremendous population increase, the CCF poll remained static. In Toronto proper, in a period of extensive unemployment and increased fear of the H Bomb and fallout, the CCF dropped almost 18 per cent of the vote that it had won in 1955.

The Toronto Star has grasped these signs of continued CCF stagnation to further attempt to block the development of the labor party to which the CCF and the Canadian Labor Congress are committed. It is playing the siren song of Liberal-CCF coalition for all it's worth. Claiming in an editorial of June 13 that "the new party has had a trial run already" in this election, the Star urges that "the CCF might consider its prospects of usefulness as a reformist ginger group within the Liberal Party."

While the idea of a labor party appeared under the aegis of the CCF, the projected party was not given a trial run in this election. These results are another payoff, one of a great many, on the CCF leadership's policy of whittling down, adapting and compromising on program, until the CCF has become scarcely distinguishable from the Liberal and Tory parties.

**It is an unpleasant fact, but a fact nonetheless, as the Tory GLOBE AND MAIL headlined a post election article, that "The CCF sowed, Liberals did Reaping". The CCF waged an energetic campaign against the Tories but it was on such issues and of such a character that its results would quite logically go to the capitalist Liberal Party, not to the CCF.**

Donald MacDonald, around whom the whole CCF campaign was constructed, made corruption the pivotal plank in the CCF program. This election it was the gas pipeline scandals, as in 1955 it was the highway overpayments and unreported campaign donations. When not claiming that the CCF had a monopoly on honesty and morality, MacDonald made the "biggest issue", as he is reported in a lengthy and considered statement to the editors of the Toronto Telegram "a growing feeling that this government is in much the same position that the federal Liberals were before the first federal election; in power too long with too big a majority for even its own good. . . ."

The highway scandals of 1955, which the CCF leadership didn't even present as an inevitable attribute of parties that defend a sys-

See NEW LABOR—page 3

WV # 43

# New Labor Party and CCF

(Continued from page 1)

tem, the capitalist system of organized graft and corruption, proved not to be THE issue and not even AN issue, when the cabinet minister and the member most immediately involved were re-elected. The 1959 gas pipeline stock profiteering by two cabinet ministers, who Frost all during the campaign openly and warmly supported, even promising the former minister of lands and forests a seat in the next cabinet, proved to be AN issue. Through his dynamic campaign Donald MacDonald increased his own plurality from 1,426 to 5,313 votes. Both ministers were defeated. But it proved not to be THE issue or one that the CCF as a party capitalized on. The two ministers were replaced by Liberals. MacDonald's plurality did not carry over to the CCF in any other riding.

Through its campaign literature the CCF made a vague class appeal but it did not present a fighting program on the biggest issues of the day. What demands it posed remained on the same plane as the demagogic promises of the Liberal Party. When Liberal leader Wintermeyer attacked the Tories for stealing 11 of his election planks MacDonald replied that the Liberals had stolen their platform from the CCF in the first place.

MacDonald could not effectively campaign against the national, Big Business engineered, anti-labor drive closing in from Newfoundland and British Columbia, for he himself had approved of certain clauses while the government's report was in committee. Among those he approved was one permitting employers to seek injunctions "in case of emergency", one outlawing all sympathetic picketing, and another banning strikes by employees "responsible for the maintenance of essential services to the community at large", etc.

The CCF campaign had nothing to say about the projected installation of a Bomarc missile base at North Bay, nor did it identify itself in any way with the fear of fallout from H Bomb tests that is concentrating across southern Ontario. On the question of unemployment only vague comments were made about planning and about public works projects—no commitments to reduce the legal work week from 48 to 40 hours—nothing about planning production in the many plants that are being shut down across the province.

There was certainly no vision of a better society or a new world projected before the electorate by the CCF leadership. While in MacDonald's riding, Frost slandered socialism as not allowing for development and expansion in the manner of free enterprise. "The Liberal Party," said Wintermeyer, "is against socialism and for the fullest development of the individual." The CCF leaders didn't even defend socialism against these lies. National president David Lewis launched the CCF campaign in an appeal to a group of Toronto businessmen to see organized labor as the strongest safeguard against communism. Provincial secretary Bryden hurried to answer Liberal executive director James Scott's "charge" that CCF literature addressed to language workers commenced, "Dear Comrade Canadian," with a blanket denial.

The Ontario election could have given an impetus to the projected labor party but under the influence of the CCF leadership it has resulted in the opposite. But it will still have served a salutary purpose if all those who understand the need for a labor-based independent political party, which will coordinate the day to day struggles of the workers and lead to the establishment of a workers and farmers government, learn its lessons. One of the lessons is that the building of such a party will require constant vigilance and struggle against the opportunism of the present CCF and trade union brass and the development of a new leadership.

## LOTS OF PROMISE BUT POOR DELIVERY

Last month saw the Manitoba CCF win 10 seats to the Liberal's 11 and the Progressive Conservatives' 34. The deferred election in the riding of Rupertsland, if won by the CCF, would have placed it in a position of sharing the privileges of official opposition with the Liberals.

The CCF leadership thought they found a prize in Chief Alfred James Cook, president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, who lives in Rupertsland where 85 per cent of the 4,119 voters are treaty Indians.

Some of the qualifications of Chief Cook were outlined by John Brewin in the June ONTARIO CCF NEWS as follows:

"In 1953 he worked hard for Liberal Roy Brown. Mr. Brown won handily. In 1958 Chief Cook acted as interpreter for Conservative Joe Jeanotte. Mr. Jeanotte polled more than 2,300 to Mr. Brown's 511. In his own poll Chief Cook delivered all 69 votes to the Conservative candidate.

Came June 11 after $3,500 was spent by a CCF section already poverty stricken by four election campaigns. The vote went:

| | |
|---|---|
| Joseph Jeannotte | 2,046 |
| Mr. Brown | 726 |
| Chief Cook | 376 |

WV #43 Editorials Page 1

# Do Not Fail Earl Laing! Build Defence Committee!

June 5

We would dearly like to read the following in tomorrow's dailies: The Canadian Congress of Labor, the Quebec Syndicates, the independents; the entire organized labor movement; Hazen Argue on behalf of the CCF, Tommy Douglas, premier of Saskatchewan, the Labor Progressive Party, the Socialist Educational League, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the socialists of all tendencies; the Association for Civil Liberties, church groups, citizens' committees, fraternal organizations, all liberal and labor opinion across the country has united behind the Earl Laing Defence Committee.

We wish this were true but you won't read such a report anywhere. You will search the press, your mail, and listen for this report in vain. But there should be an Earl Laing Defence Committee and we must work to that end. Under different times and with different leadership, say 25 or 35 years ago, there would have been such a committee. At this stage at least some of these organizations would have got together. With the aid of legal advisers they would be appealing, urging action by the "appropriate" authorities. Petitions would be going out across the country, mass meetings would be taking place, marches and demonstrations would be organized. Public opinion and public pressure would be mobilized to win the release of Earl Laing now charged with the murder of a Newfoundland constable fatally injured when the RCMP assaulted striking loggers at Badger, Newfoundland, March 10.

No one would dare to suggest that such actions would prejudice a fair trial or that such actions would be in contempt of court, because no one would believe that justice could in any way be served today in Newfoundland.

Everyone would know that the Newfoundland crown attorney is far from a disinterested person, that besides holding this office he sits on the board of directors of the struck Bowaters Paper Corporation. Everyone would know how the legal defence of Earl Laing has been crippled. How the Newfoundland Law Society has refused to waive rulings that would compel a lawyer from another province to write exams to qualify for admission to the provincial bar and pay fees – a procedure that would take "a couple of months". That Ontario Federation of Labor president David Archer's statement on the reluctance of the Newfoundland Bar Association to defend Laing evoked the response from several St. Johns lawyers that they would be willing to handle the case but only on condition that there is "no interference or advice" from the Woodworkers Union.

## For An Earl Laing Defence Committee!

(From page 1)

Due to the activities of an Earl Laing Defence Committee everyone would know that the lawyer finally retained by the IWA to defend IWA member Laing has since made it known that he will also be representing Premier Smallwood himself against a libel suit filed by three officials of this union which Smallwood has smeared a "conspiracy', as "communists", "gangsters", "highwaymen and outlaws".

Everyone's mind would be refreshed as to how, just a few months ago, Premier Smallwood prostituted all the organs of Newfoundland government, of law and order, to the British owned pulp and paper companies, and how his goading, encouraged by Canadian Legion officials, by such churchmen as the Reverend Dr. A. Brown in Grand Falls who screamed over the air that there was no room in Newfoundland for "Marxists or Nazis" and that "revenge may be justified," resulted in mobs attacking anti-smashing union headquarters, driving the IWA from town to town. It would be clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that a fair trial cannot be conducted in Newfoundland and that at the very minimum, to even talk of justice, there would have to be a change of venue.

The murderers of the constable, those who should be in the dock, are Smallwood and the paper corporations seeking to cleanse their hands of guilt at the expense of an innocent logger, seeking a conviction in order to justify their imposition of the most far-reaching and restrictive anti-labor legislation this continent has seen.

The Ontario Federation of Printing Trades Union, at its Hamilton convention last month, demanded that the murder charge, all charges against Laing be dropped. But the case is going before the courts; the noose hangs over Laing's head. To fail to protest is to share the guilt. Stop the judicial murder of Earl Laing! Organize a cross country Committee for the Defence of Earl Laing!

**THE WORKERS' VANGUARD**

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Association
569 Yonge Street, Toronto 5, Ont. - WA. 3-5174

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues

The policy of The Workers Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers Vanguard.

Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto
Authorized as Second Class matter Post Office Department, Ottawa

WV Editorials #43

Vanguard

# On Canada's Space Program

Canada's number one killer and crippler, heart disease, took the lives of 65,000 last year and disabled another 250,000. Almost half of the Canadian males who died between the ages of 35 and 54, life's prime, were its victims. The National Heart Foundation operates on a modest budget of less than one million dollars collected by a national appeal. It can't get the 30 more research workers it needs as this would cost a million dollars that it doesn't have.

Last month when he announced the establishment of a $140,000 research fund, Canada's and one of the world's most eminent neuro-surgeons, Dr. Wilder Penfield, told his Montreal audience that to achieve this modest objective it would be necessary to turn to private sources. "Prime Minister Diefenbaker told me recently," he said, "that members of the federal cabinet would never consider permanent endowment of science by capital grants."

But it isn't that there are any financial difficulties standing in the way of a government which spends almost a third of its budget on armaments. A few days later Diefenbaker announced that he had authorized the establishment of a permanent joint committee on space research. He also announced that Canada was planning to participate in a partnership with Britain for launching satellites—a costly program which will add millions more to the tax burden.

No one could fail to be inspired by the vision of man travelling out into space, pushing the bounds of his horizon out into the universe and beyond. But Dr. Penfield pointed out "in the brain of man is a microcosm no less vast than that of the universe." These thoughts were echoed by Sir John Cockcroft, winner of the 1951 Nobel prize for Physics, as he condemned nuclear bomb testing as "contributing nothing towards the development of nuclear power for peaceful purposes." He decried, before an Australian audience, the tremendous sums being spent on space research. "The thousands of millions of pounds and rubles being spent on this space race would," he said, "be better spent on medical and biological research right here on earth."

Ottawa is not unaware of the needs of science and what even a tiny portion of the sums now being spent on armaments would do for mankind. Nonetheless they are preparing to spend millions more in the space race—a race which is not at all designed to furthering man's knowledge but is essential in keeping the cold war spirit high for the war that is in the making. The space and missile program also has another purpose—that of keeping the capitalist economy working.

Wall Street financier and economist James P. Warburg admitted last March before the Society for the Advancement of Management that "we are not prepared and are not preparing for peace." The country would be paralyzed by a major depression if actual peace came "before we could even complete plans for dealing with this emergency . . . if a disarmament agreement were reached next Monday the nation's economy would go into a tailspin on Tuesday."

For a socialist society, far from creating an emergency, peace would be the actual state of affairs.

Then the wealth accumulated through man's cooperative effort could be apportioned in the interest of science, which is the conquest of man over nature, both here on this globe and in outer space.

Mid-July, 1959 WV Vol. 4, No. 8(44) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

# British Labor Rallies Against H Bomb Policy

By P. KENT

The struggle against war, against the horrors of H Bomb war, and for the orientation of the British labor movement, both the Labor Party and the trade unions, towards a socialist policy, made several giant strides in the past month. The developing groundswell of anti-H Bomb sentiment in the ranks of the British trade unions found a mighty expression in the biennial conference of the huge, over 1½ million-member Transport and General Workers Union.

With only 50 of the 760 delegates voting against, on July 9, the TGWU flatly rejected the policies being advocated by the Gaitskell-Bevan leadership of the British Labor Party. It called upon the Labor Party to pledge itself to an immediate ban on H Bomb testing and an end to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The conference demanded an immediate halt to the installation of missile bases on British soil and the end of H Bomb-armed aircraft flights over Britain.

Working class pressure on the official party leadership for an anti-war policy, for a break from a position of general support of the Tory Macmillan government's "at all costs" commitment to the US State Department, has been building up steadily over the year. The Aldermaston March and the colossal rally in Trafalgar Square, a joint action of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Direct Action Committee for Nuclear Disarmament was one of the high points.

The developing influence of the revolutionary socialists around the weekly Newsletter, now organized in the Socialist Labor League, and their successes in fusing the left in the Labor Party clubs with trade union militants was another. The Gaitskell leadership has attempted to block this through a ban on the SLL and the Newsletter and wholesale expulsions.

Then, early in June, the General Municipal Workers Union, third largest in the country, followed up by several other unions such as the Chemical Workers, called for unilateral disarmament and the cessation of nuclear weapon manufacture and use from British territory.

Frightened, the party's top brass attempted to head these developments off. In mid-June it passed a new policy through both the general council of the Trade Union Congress and the party's governing body, the national executive committee. It proposed a muffled pledge, that a Labor government would "continue to observe" the present truce on tests, and what has become known as a "non-nuclear club".

This policy would continue to keep Britain tied to the American alliance and NATO, maintenance of US bomber and rocket bases on British soil, and makes the phoney proposition of an agreement of all nations except the US and the USSR to renounce nuclear weapons — something which de Gaullist France and Adenauer's Germany show not the slightest sign of doing.

GAITSKELL

Faced with rising opposition from the trade union ranks, particularly the Transport and General Workers Union under Frank Cousins, which will have one eighth of the card votes at this year's Trade Union Congress and slightly more than one million votes at the Labor Party Conference — Bevan and Gaitskell can be expected to come out with some compromise

See DUMP BOMB—page 2

## Dump Bomb Unilaterally Cry Union & Party Ranks

(Continued from page 1)

formula. But the struggle against the bomb, for unilateral abandonment of the bomb by Britain, for a socialist policy, is moving onto a higher plane.

As Brian Behan of the Socialist Labour League writes in the June 22 NEWSLETTER, "the basis for a real left movement now exists. The problem at the moment is how to unite the struggle against the H Bomb with the defence of wages, jobs, conditions and shop stewards. A Marxist movement based on the industrial working class and striving to unite the workers' struggles with the activities of the local Labor Parties is far more powerful than a Left isolated in the constituencies (as the Bevanites were) or in the trade unions (as the Communist Party is)."

ANEURIN BEVAN

The official Communist Party policy does not differ in any essential from that of the official Labor Party leadership's. The Daily Worker emphasizes the demand for summit talks and goes out of its way to stress the "positive points" in Gaitskell's document. The main line stressed at the March for Life demonstration in Trafalgar Square on June 28 was not the concept of unilateral abandonment but all-round agreement of heads of state. The CP leaders have fundamental differences with the left on the question of the H Bomb because they do not start from the standpoint of what is good for the working class but what is good for the Soviet bureaucracy.

But the ground is being laid from resolutions, from words, to actions by the British working class to halt the war drive.

I-51-20

Vanguard #44 Editorials Mid-July 59

# Why was Laing Charged?

When everything pointed to a gross miscarriage of justice, to his conviction and death by hanging, logger Earl Laing was acquitted of the murder of a Newfoundland constable. But in the light of the evidence presented to the court, particularly that of the crown witnesses, it is not so surprising that he was cleared after being held in custody since March 10. Rather it is surprising that he was charged at all!

One of the crown witnesses, an officer who was right beside the deceased constable as he was struck down, blew the crown's case apart. He gave evidence that Laing could not possibly have been involved in any way. He actually named another striker. He testified that he had previously given this information to his superiors who would certainly have had much to do with the crown's pressing charges.

Why then was Laing held in custody? Why, at the closed preliminary hearing, did the magistrate find evidence sufficient to warrant the charge of murder? Why was it made to appear that Laing's life was in jeopardy? We can only conclude that this was done in order to carry the Smallwood government's war of attrition with organized labor to the very end—in the hope that having whipped up a lynch atmosphere against the Woodworkers and declaring it outlaw, that by so doing the remaining militants would be so frightened that the IWA would never be able to rise again.

Laing's release owes nothing to the actions of the leadership of the Canadian labor movement. While they remained silent, the convention of Ontario Federation of Printing Trades Unions, the editors of the Ontario Operating Engineers' and BC Pulp and Sulphite Workers' papers solidarized themselves with Laing as a class war prisoner. The **Vanguard** called for a national defence committee. Correctly so!

Fortunately Laing proved to be innocent, even of the legal charge the crown laid against him. We say fortunately because SOMEONE either threw or swung the birch stick that killed the constable. If Laing had proved to have been the wielder of the stick it would appear that the CLC leadership were prepared to permit the noose to be put around his neck. For us, even if Laing had proved to have been the wielder of the stick it was not he who was the murderer of the constable.

The guilty ones are in the highest offices of the Newfoundland government, Premier Smallwood, his Liberal and Tory supporters who barred freedom of association, who whipped up the hysteria at Grand Falls, and who brought in the RCMP to terrorize and smash all resistance. The trade union brass are in the position of being cleared of being accessories to a crime against Laing and the organized labor movement only by the failure of the RCMP to get their man.

# Just Wind, No Substance!

So blatant, arrogant, and sweeping, have US infringements of Canadian sovereignty become that even wealthy Canadian investors have been stirred up. They have been demanding, urging, pleading, all in the interests of gaining ownership of the Canadian economy for the Canadian people of course, that the stocks and bonds of General Motors, General Electric and other giant US corporations with vast installations on Canadian soil appear on the Canadian exchanges so that any one of us who desires can buy into them.

This campaign has even inspired the editors of the **Canadian Tribune** and the CCF press to speak well of it. They appear to have readers who can get to own a bit of this country by forking out a couple of hundred bucks for a share or two.

Last month along came the Ford Motor Company of the US with an offer. They already control Ford of Canada by holding 56.8 per cent of class B voting stock. They offered to buy up 775,628 of class A stock to bring their ownership from 27.5 up to 60 per cent.

Immediately there was a great hue and cry for all Canadians (Ford stockholding-Canadians) to stand by the flag. Jan F. McRae, president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, urged the annual convention of his fellow capitalists to show "whether they are willing to sell out for a fast buck or retain their association as shareholders, to show whether their talk is just wind or has substance."

McRae, who is himself chairman of Canadian General Electric, whose shares are 99 per cent owned by the US company, attempted to stiffen the backs of Canadian Ford shareholders a bit with the prediction that if they "hold onto their Ford of Canada stock it will go much higher."

The offer expired on July 15. But by June 13—10 days after it advanced the offer—Ford of US had all the shares it desired. And so Ford of Canada fell to Ford of US as did recently British American Oil to Gulf Oil, and Canadian Canners to California Packers.

We are still looking for those capitalists that Tim Buck talks about who "put the nation before profit." The late Prime Minister King couldn't find one, he admitted, when he was compelled, in the midst of World War II, to remove the profit limits before he was able to place military contracts. It's demoralizing to be left with just 17,499,900 Canadians to fight for a truly sovereign Canada—a socialist Canada! Oh, show us such a capitalist, Mr. Buck.

Vanguard #45 - Aug. 1959

# HOW AND HOW NOT TO COMBAT BC'S BILL 43

BY THE EDITORS

How to turn back the Big Business inspired anti-labor drive, closing in since this spring in a massive pincer movement from British Columbia and Newfoundland, is the burning issue confronting the BC organized labor movement, and for that matter the entire working population of the country.

At this juncture this means how to remove the far reaching anti-labor law known as Bill 43 that the BC Social Credit government planked on the books this spring. Canadian Labor Congress President Claude Jodoin has declared this law to be without parallel in any Canadian province. Saskatchewan's CCF premier T. C. Douglas has said it "is more serious than the legislation passed in Newfoundland . . . (it) is the beginnings of fascism in Canada."

On April 10, just after the Social Credit government passed the bill without so much as an amendment, despite massive verbal protests from all sides, union functionaries gathered in Vancouver to discuss what to do. Five months later, just last week, on August 1st, with CLC vice-president William Dodge in attendance, some 350 delegates, representing all labor councils in BC and some 200 affiliated locals met in Vancouver to discuss the situation.

Back in April the trade union leadership concluded that the law would not be enforced, and that at any rate the unions should live with it. The Federation placed ads in the daily press warning union members "to refrain from acts which can be described as unlawful under Bill 43."

What a different picture confronted the delegates who assembled on August 1st! For the first time in BC history a union local has been found guilty of contempt. Thanks to Bill 43 which made unions legal entities the ironworkers have been compelled to pay a fine of $10,000 or have their properties seized, and a further fine of $5,000 or see their president, business agent and financial secretary languish in prison. A 9,000 member union has been fined $3,000, and the editor of its journal only released from prison on payment of $1,000 bail for an article he wrote protesting the barrage of writs and injunctions that have been hailing down on the unions.

According to Federation secretary Pat O'Neil, "More trade unionists have been hauled into court than in the nine other provinces combined; in fact we can include the US for good measure."

Many of the delegates, on strike themselves, have been compelled by Bill 43, instead of proudly marching in front of struck places of work, proclaiming their solidarity with other unions, to walk on the edges, appearing as "observers" without any noticeable identification or declaration of their purposes.

**Such is the ignominous position in which the BC labor movement, perhaps the most militant section of all Canadian labor, now finds itself. Not yet satisfied with their handiwork, the chief strategists of Big Business are whipping up a campaign to further fetter the working class by strengthening Bill 43 so as to impose compulsory arbitration and thus complete the Hitlerizing process.**

The inter-municipal committee of councils in the Victoria area has not only approved of a labor court but has urged the Greater Victoria councils to hold a referendum on the proposition. The SC member from Comox is promoting the setting up of a labor-management-government council. Wide publicity is being given to a proposition made earlier this year by J. V. Clyne, chairman of the board of MacMillan & Bloedel and a former Supreme Court judge, that a permanent board composed of a jurist, an economist and an expert on labor relations, be set up to advise the government, and of course influence public opinion.

There IS another side to the picture. The forces organized in the BC Federation of Labor are over 148,000 strong. Add to this number the thousands organized in the Fishermen's Union, Mine Mill, the railway brotherhoods. They dominate, they control all the basic industries of the province. They have a militant tradition. Given the lead they are prepared to fight.

Judge Manson felt their temper when he issued his slave-labor order to the courtroom of ironworkers. He commented that he detected an atmosphere of utter defiance. Only last April, as the Bill was rammed through, the union ranks declared they were prepared for a general strike. Pat O'Neil testified that 24 locals, including Local 1-217, the largest in BC, had stated their readiness for direct action to defeat the bill.

As the delegates met on August 1st some 40,000 BC unionists were on the picket lines—27,000 woodworkers had the province's biggest industry tied up, 9,000 fishermen the province's second biggest industry. The ironworkers were holding firm, printers and auto mechanics were on the line, and thousands of others threatening to strike.

**What policy did the leadership present to the delegates at the BC Federation conference? When the situation cried out for a broad statement of policy for unionists to consolidate their forces around and the public to understand, the delegates met in secret—the fight against Bill 43 was taken underground.**

There was one press release protesting Bill 43 and condemning the vicious use of injunctions. Since then there have been many leaks, both official and otherwise. While attempting to meet some aspects of the new situation they total up to the old policy of last April—a policy of living with the union-busting Bill 43.

According to one leak to the press, while the assembly condemned Bill 43 and the government that plotted it, it nonetheless asked the same government to pass new laws; for instance one which would slightly modify the impact of Bill 43 by compelling those who initiate court hearings on empty strike injunctions to pay the costs.

Further along this line is the position expounded by BC CCF leader Robert Strachan reported in the BC CCF News. Strachan calls for an immediate session of the legislature. Bill 43 must be repealed, Strachan declares, "to restore a legal climate fair to both sides."

Why the anti-labor SC government should call a session to reconsider legislation which is so effectively serving its purpose, to be

See GENERAL STRIKE—page 3

Editorials #45 Mid Aug 8


# THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Association
569 Yonge Street, Toronto 5, Ont. - WA. 3-5174

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)


The policy of The Workers Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers' Vanguard.


Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto
Authorized as Second Class matter, Post Office Department, Ottawa


## General Strike Proposed

(Continued from page 1)

"fair to both sides" even if such a feat were possible, Strachan does not explain. We can be sure that if and when the SC government intervenes in the conflict between labor and capital more directly than it has by passing Bill 43, and becomes susceptible to such talk as establishing a legal climate fair to both sides, it will be because things will be going badly for Big Business and well for organized labor.

We learn that the conference approved of a dime a day defence fund. It endorsed the policy of utilising observation lines of sightseers—a loophole found in an act that bars sympathetic and secondary boycott picket lines.

This policy of attempting to work through the chinks in Bill 43, of adaptation and adjustment to the vicious legislation, apparently did not go down well with all the delegates. It would appear that for those who are of the opinion that a totally different course should be followed, a militant sounding proposal along the following lines was adopted; no strike would be settled or work resumed until all legal actions against unions or members had been quashed and all penalties, fines or indemnities imposed or pending either repaid or revoked.

It was probably in line with this that the Ironworkers asked for a special session of the court of appeal. Naturally enough, on August 7 Chief Justice DesBrisay turned down the request.

The Fishermen (Independent), against whom perhaps the most far reaching and repressive court action was taken, have since returned to work—with the action still standing and the fine and indemnity in force. So, too, have the Ironworkers.

It is hard to believe should any of the striking unions be offered sizeable concessions that the grounds have been laid, or that they could even be prepared in secret, to convince them not to settle until in some way the courts have been compelled to backtrack all the way or the government to intercede and order the quashing of all the penalties. It is doubtful that even a more militant and sustained action than a 24 hour general strike could force such a headlong retreat by the forces of reaction.

**A general strike, a co-ordinated massive mobilization of the mighty forces of organized labor across the province—that is just what was averted by the leadership, according to labor reporter H. Munro, writing his version of what happened at the conference in the VANCOUVER PROVINCE on August 4. "The threat of a general strike in BC was averted at the Vancouver meeting of top union officials called by the BC Federation of Labor." Quoting an unnamed top union official, Munro reports "He said the group in charge wanted to conduct the fight in a responsible manner, which accounted for the rejection of general strike proposals by a few hotheads!"**

## IRRESPONSIBLE? HOT-HEADED?

What makes the proposal for a 24 hour general strike against Bill 43 a proposal of "hotheads?" Isn't it just an application of that old and basic union principle "In Unity There Is Strength?" Wouldn't a general strike only be an extension on a broader, stronger and more effective scale, of the sympathy strike actions organized by the BC Federation that Marine Engineer Dick Greaves told the Vancouver Labor Council last month alone achieved victory for the engineers against Northern Navigation Company?

There can be no opposition in principle to a general strike. It alone, in fact, even talk of one at this time, may prove sufficient to force the government and the courts to pull back in their vicious actions. Perhaps it will bring down the government, forcing it to go to the electorate. The BC Federation is already committed to defeat of the government. Social Credit has no mandate from the people of BC for the passing of Bill 43 nor for its subsequent enforcement. Premier Bennett will thrust labor into an election when it suits him. Why shouldn't labor force him into an election when it suits labor—on the issue of Bill 43?

**Big Business has shown no tendency to stop at any means, complete misuse of injunctions, etc., to achieve its purpose. Why should organized labor hesitate to use the only effective device at its disposal — refusal to work on such terms on a province-wide basis. There isn't even a law against such an action—not yet, although SC is certainly preparing one.**

There is nothing irresponsible about proposing a general strike. It is obviously just a practical matter. That is why the federation leadership have smeared the proposal as being hotheaded, irresponsible. They fear a frank and open discussion. And they fear the answer that would come from such a free discussion.

## DELAY EMBOLDENS LABOR HATERS

The actions of the Federation leadership, their persistence in merely working the loopholes, their pleas to Social Credit, their empty, phony gestures of militancy; is this conducting "the fight in a responsible manner?" Responsible to what?—to whom? Certainly not to the BC and the cross-Canada labor movement.

They blocked the possibility of defeating Bill 43 last April. They are barring the chance again—now —when thousands of BC workers are already on the picket line and have been for weeks. Whether an opportunity has again been lost, BC militants can determine.

One thing is clear—with each delay, with each postponement of the struggle, with each setback to labor, the Social Credit government at the service of the corporations, becomes more confident of its course, more successful in its polarization of middle class and conservative elements of the population around it—more entrenched, more bold; the courts more certain and more vigorous in their harassment of the workers.

The struggle to develop a new leadership is increasingly more urgent. The old leadership, never really equipped to meet the problems of the class struggle, was able to slip by, to ride with the current of relatively good times and easy relations with the employers and their governments. It has become increasingly soft and set in its ways.

The BC labor movement has shown its capacity to rise to the situation in the past. We have no reason to doubt its capacity to cope with the problem of building a new leadership armed with a militant program to meet the needs of today and tomorrow.

The Militant
Vanguard
#45 Mid-Aug 59
08-15-2

# TIM BUCK ATTEMPTS TO BURY TROTSKY

Aug 59

By P. KENT

For the first time in over two decades Labor Progressive Party leader Tim Buck is having to handle the name of Leon Trotsky and the word Trotskyism as something other than a term of abuse. In recent speeches in Vancouver and Toronto, and in an article in the June-July issue of MARXIST REVIEW, he commented as if political concepts of some importance were associated with those words.

For several decades it was sufficient when mentioning Lenin's closest collaborator in the building of the first workers state and the Communist International, or the world-wide movement identified with Leon Trotsky's name, to bracket them with the phrases "mad fascist dog", "agent of imperialism", and let it go at that.

There remain a few antidiluvians who still use the term as a form of red-baiting but their numbers and influence are diminishing. Honest socialists still in and around the LPP are attempting to measure up to the changes heralded by Nikita Khrushchev's speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU three and a half years ago.

There the biggest obstacle to the rehabilitation of Trotsky was cleared away when Khrushchev confirmed the fact that Stalin had committed crimes of a monstrous character against the Soviet Union, including the frame-up and murder of countless revolutionary socialists.

According to Buck in his article in the June-July Marxist Review we now have the answer that "has been awaited with intense interest (by serious leaders of capitalist politics as well as by Communists), because it is crucial to the future of the world as well as to the doctrine of Marxism Leninism." The dispute over the theory of socialism in one country waged by Stalin and Trotsky "has been answered definitely" according to Buck, by the reports of Soviet economic growth to the 21st Congress CPSU.

Buck asserts that the 'non-Marxist Leon Trotsky" and some members of the central committee CPSU "tried to prevent" the development of Soviet economy although history records it was the Left Opposition which Trotsky headed that was the first to demand industrialization and planification.

According to a quotation of unidentified source, Trotsky and his associates counterposed to this the concept of "simultaneous" revolution in a number of advanced industrialized countries. Buck fails to explain how a group with so broad and practical revolutionary experience could hold such a concept as "simultaneous revolution".

The truth is, Buck presents a completely false picture of the issues at dispute along with all the circumstances surrounding them. The only way "the argument absorbed the main attention of the world communist movement for several years" was through the ceaseless harassment, persecution, and even murder, of those who opposed the party machine dominated by Stalin.

The congress of the Communist International that adopted Stalin's policy was not held in 1927 but in 1928. It did not hear the leaders of the opposition, as Buck states, for they had all been bureaucratically expelled from the CPSU the year previous. There was no discussion of their program, it had been officially suppressed. It saw the light of day thanks to the efforts of Canadian CP delegate Spector and US CP delegate Cannon who came across it and smuggled it to America. They got no hearing for they, too, were ruthlessly expelled by Buck and his counterparts.

What is really involved in this dispute over the theory of socialism in one country is the historic mission of the Russian socialists and the world socialist movement. The concept of socialism in one country, which is a complete revision of all the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, in reality expresses the mood of the then developing Soviet bureaucracy faced with large scale defeats of the European proletariat abroad and modest economic successes at home. As Trotsky put it; flowing out of this theory that socialism can be built in the SU, if there is no intervention, is a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention. The task of the parties of the CI, instead of fighting for socialism in their own countries, becomes therefore only to defend the USSR from intervention.

The solid achievements and the great promises of the Soviet economy far from prove the validity of the theory of socialism in one country—on the contrary—they affirm the correctness of the struggle of Leon Trotsky. With the defeats in Britain in 1926, China 1927 and Germany, France and Spain in the thirties, due to the false policies of the Moscow-dominated Comintern, came the entrenchment of the Stalin apparatus which, as Khrushchev revealed, almost brought the Soviet Union down before the German imperialist juggernaut.

But despite the reactionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy in curbing the post-war revolutionary wave the struggles in Yugoslavia and China broke out of its grip. The course of history, more powerful than any bureaucratic apparatus, burst outside the borders of the Soviet Union to establish planned economies in China, Yugoslavia and through Eastern Europe.

As great as the conquests of the planned economy have been, we do not yet have socialism in the Soviet Union. No less than Khrushchev himself reported that Soviet industrial production is about half the USA's, agricultural output is 20 to 25 per cent less. With a larger population than the USA the Soviet Union per capita output and consumption determine a much lower living standard than the capitalist US level. Granted the great dynamics of Soviet economy and the inner contradictions of capitalist economy, plus the military stalemate, American capitalism remains a powerful force for counter-revolution. The threat of imperialist attack on the USSR remains. The future is by no means sure.

Buck's treatment of the struggle of the revolutionary socialists under the leadership of Trotsky is a dishonest one, but we should be patient. He has been compelled to deal with ideas and with history, and the record can readily be checked. For that matter Khrushchev and the other heirs of Stalin are not exactly rushing to make further corrections in the record that they helped to write. But there are other forces which will eventually do the job for them if they don't.

As the workers in the Soviet areas proceed with their struggle to place the benefits of planned economy under workers democracy, they will surely recognize as their own the great socialist leader who predicted their action correctly and gave his life to speed its development.

So, too, will Canadian socialists, many of whom are now reading Trotsky for the first time and have available to them not only his writings on the Russian question but on Germany, and the still burning issue of how to fight fascism, on the tasks of the colonial revolutions, and the American question, to which Trotsky devoted a great deal of attention. He predicted that the fate of mankind would finally be forged in America—he saw the American socialists finishing what the Russian socialists began.

Workers' Vanguard #45 - Mid August 1959

Vanguard

# Campaigners Meet Duplessis' Henchman

Over this past month our mobile VANGUARD unit pushed still further north into the predominantly mining communities of Northern Ontario.

The workers of Kirkland Lake are still suffering because of a blow that destroyed the unions almost 20 years ago. People still tell stories of how the companies, using extended lockouts, scabs and police brutality as their weapons, broke the unions during the strike. Even today the miners are either without unions, or have what can at best be called very ineffective unions.

Because of the resulting bad wages, the town is a near-repressed area. Houses are often left unpainted, overcrowding of families in slum houses is commonplace. The prevailing mood in the town is one of apathy about conditions —the mood of everyone except a few militants.

By contrast, in the fully organized towns of Elliot Lake or Noranda, living standards are much higher. In these boom towns the main question is not one of higher wages, but—can the high wages continue. The workers are well aware that their livelihood depends on the world market for the copper or uranium they mine; and these markets are rapidly disappearing.

Our paper was well received by the militants in both the depressed and the boom areas of the North because it offers prospects for the future.

In Noranda we had a first hand experience with Quebec democracy, Duplessis style. While distributing the Vanguard to workers coming off shift from the huge Noranda smelter, the local police chief approached one of us and told him to get in the car. Knowing Quebec justice, he refused.

Then the chief asked if we knew whether or not there was a law prohibiting distributions on public property. Pat said that if there was such a law, it was unconstitutional—to which the chief acidly replied "Monsieur, you are in Quebec now!"

He left us only when the glares from gathering workers became so numerous that he, for a change, felt what it's like to be intimidated.

But in spite of the many obstacles standing in the way of selling socialist literature, we have been quite successful, largely because of a growing interest in socialist ideas. The proof? In addition to a very large number of sales to trade unionists and socialists, we also sold a Vanguard subscription to the mayor of a large northern town, and several dollars worth of books and pamphlets to a leading minister. — Cliff Cotton

Mid-September, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 10(46) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

# Khrushchov's Visit Signals USA Retreat in Cold War

By THE EDITORS

Khrushchov's grandstand tour of the United States is a bitter pill for Wall Street to swallow. One doesn't have to search the record since US participation in the armies of intervention that sought to strangle the Russian Revolution at its birth to be aware of the irreconcilable hostility of the rulers of America to the USSR. No sooner was World War II ended when top Allied military strategists openly suggested that their forces be launched against the USSR. With the cold war and its massive arms build-up, military bases were constructed across the globe directed against the USSR. The world was led right up to the brink of the Third World War—an H Bomb war—time after time.

Now, this era of world politics has come to a close. We are entering into a period of what has been called peaceful coexistence. What does it mean for the peoples of the world? This can best be grasped from understanding what has brought about this change.

It is due neither to the removal of Dulles the man most identified with the cold war, actually launched by Truman and Churchill, nor a new found strength in President Eisenhower. Nor is it due to clever maneuverings or diplomatic pressures exerted by the Kremlin through Khrushchov.

Its timing has been designed to build up the Tory government of MacMillan, to defeat the Labor Party bid for power in the British elections, and to give the Republican party prospects in 1960 a boost and help vice-president Nixon to win the presidential race.

But what underpins it all is the whole series of stunning setbacks to Wall Street's imperialist ambitions. The decisive factor that has led to the new turn in international relations is the change in the relationship of forces between the revolutionary movements of the peoples and the defenders of the old order. The advances and pressures of the revolutionary forces have proved powerful

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From LEAD EDITORIAL—page 1

enough to slow down and halt the war drive of American imperialism

Climaxing the struggles of the peoples of India, Indonesia, Indo China, the Chinese Revolution radically altered the relation of forces in the Far East. Commencing with Egypt, sweeping through Iran, Iraq to Algeria, the pressures of revolution have wrecked the Baghdad Pact and through the exhaustian of France crippled the NATO military alliance. Despite the millions of dollars poured in to prop up tottering regimes, no stability for the capitalist order on the European continent has been realized.

In contrast stand the colossal achievements of the nationalized and planned economy of the Soviet Union, symbolized by the rocket that soared through space timed to strike the moon when Khrushchov alighted on the American continent.

This incredible achievement erases any doubt that the USSR can guide missiles through space to US targets with deadly accuracy. Thus to the stalemate on the political arena is added a military stalement between the two power blocs.

The US State Department feels obliged to seek avenues of negotiation and areas of compromise. Khrushchov exploits the situation where capitalism is on the defensive and the revolution is on the ascendancy

While the strategists of US imperialism must now consider a truce in the cold war they cannot and will not accept the perspective of permanent peace. Their foreign policy still remains geared to an eventual war, impelled by the economic needs of the capitalist system.

While the capitalist economy needs war—the mere talk of peace and the possible slackening off of military expenditures sent shudders through the stock market—the USSR needs peace. A prolonged period of peace, it is now admitted by its avowed enemies, will improve the general standard of living of the Russian people. Khrushchov needs the prestige of appearing to have achieved the peace to head off the developing critical spirit of the Soviet peoples whose aspirations for socialist democracy were revealed in the lightning flashes of the Polish and Hungarian revolutions, and within the Soviet Union itself.

While the US' gestures of peace are geared to the conjunctural relationship of world class forces, the Kremlin's program of peace is shaped by the narrow interests of the Soviet ruling caste. The preservation of the status quo abroad helps to stabilize their bureaucratic rule at home.

But the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial peoples rage on unabated. The workers in the advanced capitalist countries also seek to change the social system. The Soviet peoples seek to re-establish working class democracy on the property relations established by October. A "peace" that ignores these legitimate aspirations cannot be enduring.

The peoples of the world want peace. The assurance that what we have now is not only a temporary abatement of the war danger lies not in any arrangements agreed upon by Khrushchov and Eisenhower but on the capacity of the world's peoples to further the struggles that brought the situation into existence.

This means to further and deepen the struggle against the war preparations, against capitalism, and to march determinedly on the path towards a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

WV #246 Mid-Sept '59

The Western Vanguard

# Dief Backs US in Laos Plot Another Korea?

By ROSS DOWSON

For the seventh time in succession, making it every time since 1953, every time that the issue of China's representation in the United Nations has come up—Canada voted No ! India's Krishna Menon chided the Canadian delegate, recalling that last February the former Canadian Minister of External Affairs Lester Pearson querried "How long are we going to be able to support the US position?", and suggesting that his successor, Sidney Smith, had expressed similar sentiments. But the Canadian delegate voted with the US resolution to keep the question off the agenda.

This time the excuse is Laos—"the indisputable evidence presented by Laotian foreign minister that the rebels in Laos are directed by Hanoi and Peking. Speaking to a convention of the Young Liberals, Liberal leader Pearson stated that "I am not prepared to criticize the government on this matter" — Chinese aggression in Tibet and Laos, he believed, had destroyed any chance of an increase in support for Chinese admission to the UN.

Two weeks previously Canada's permanent UN representative backed up the 10 to 1 vote of the Security Council to appoint a subcommittee to look into charges of Communist aggression in Laos, assumed to be a reality by US representative Henry Cabot Lodge because 'the newspapers are full of it. It is common knowledge."

According to the headlines, the fighting between the Royal Laotian Army and Pathet Lao, an anti-imperialist movement of peasants and tribal peoples described as "pro-communist" by the capitalist press, commenced following meetings between Khrushchov, North Vietnam and Chinese government heads.

But GLOBE AND MAIL staff reporter William Stevenson wrote from Hong Kong, September 8, "Commonwealth diplomats have been generally concerned with events in Laos all summer. One month before Mr. Khrushchov is said to have conspired to provoke the Laotian crisis, Commonwealth capitals had been informed that impetuous anti-Communist measures in Laos might precipitate a fresh outbreak of fighting."

From Stevenson's dispatches it is apparent that the Laotian government, a mere puppet of the US State Department, has no support amongst the population. "There is little doubt," he writes, "these guerrillas could trample all over the Royal Laotian army, if Laos were abandoned by the West."

"More US aid dollars per capita have been poured into Laos than almost anywhere else in the world. One result has been corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement involving possibly the biggest concentrated waste of greenbacks since the decline and fall of Chiang Kai-shek's mainland regime."

"In four years," writes Stevenson, "the US has spent 161 million in its support (The Royal Laotian Army of 25,000 which exists at least on paper), not counting weapons and other direct military assistance."

Stevenson reports that the Roya' Laotian Secretary of State for Education told a Globe and Mail correspondent "we need more money."

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Continued from p. 1

# DIEF BACKS U.S. INTERVENTION AGAINST LAOS FREEDOM FIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

When asked what the Pathet Lao did for money, he replied "They are poor, but then they're zealots."

Both Stevenson and the Globe and Mail's Washington correspondent Phillip Dean relate how the US State Department moved in on Laos, following the Geneva conference, to squeeze out the "inefficient" French imperialists, breaking all the solemn pledges that Pathet Lao would be given representation in the government.

"Laos has been following a strong anti-Communist policy since the election of May 1958," writes Dean in his September 6 Washington dispatch. At that time Pathet Lao won a majority of seats in a by-election; frightened that they would sweep the coming elections the US puppets threw the two Pathet Lao ministers out of the cabinet and into jail along with other party leaders.

"US advice was to go ahead with the policy," writes Deane; "with the disarming of Pathet Lao Communist units, the removal of Communists from cabinet posts and finally with the creation of a US military training mission . . . The US also supported the present Laotian government in its refusal to let the International Control Commission, set up by the 1954 Indo-China peace treaty, resume its operations. This tough policy was very much the personal work of J. Graham Parsons Jr., now Assistant Secretary of State for Eastern Affairs and until March 1958 Ambassador to Laos."

Canada, along with India and Poland, was a member of this International Commission. Poland protested its abandonment. Since then India has written the Diefenbaker government suggesting that it be reconvened, but the prime minister has not acted.

According to Stevenson, "Members of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization agree that US efforts almost certainly saved Laos," but not from any foreign threat but from the Laotian people themselves. Stevenson admits that "many diplomats appear dubious still about the extent of foreign Communist threat to Laos."

In a September 21 dispatch Stevenson writes "the French are openly cynical about Royal Laotian allegations of large scale intervention by Communist troops." India, he reports, has withdrawn its "ambassador from Laos whose hostility to Western attempts to bolster the Royal Laotian government had become an embarrassment."

While UN fact finders are giving careful study to a bulky 200 page government report of communist aggression from North Vietnam, according to an AP dispatch of September 21, western correspondents reported upon returning from a northeastern Laotian village, alleged to have been the scene of five days of fierce fighting and to have changed hands four times, that it "was practically unscarred."

**On September 22 the Laotian chief of staff forbade travel by news correspondents to combat areas. "A reliable source later explained privately," wrote Greg MacGregor of the NEW YORK TIMES SERVICE, "that the principal complaints had been against representatives of the French press who had written reports . . . that denied North Vietnamese complicity or intervention in Laos . . ."**

All the evidence points to the US preparing another Korea. Then, they propped up the discredited dictator Singhman Rhee against a popular revolution of the Korean peoples, seeking to prepare a springboard for an attack on China. Then, the Liberal St. Laurent government thrust Canadian troops behind that action.

**Deifenbaker is moving in the same direction behind a similar type of US military adventure. The CCF MPs should be vigorously protesting, in solidarity with the right of all peoples to self-determination, and preparing the opposition of the Canadian people.**

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The Western Vanguard

# RALLY SPURS LABOR PARTY

Mid Sept 59

By P. KENT

The Canadian Congress of Labor-CCF national seminar on the new party held in Winnipeg last month received the big treatment in the capitalist press. **Saturday Night** challenged that the meetings of some 300 hand-picked CCF and trade union leaders "produced no positive results, or if they did, none that was communicated to the country." Then it went into its act of explaining why a labor party has "no obvious reason to come into existence" with the old chestnuts that there is no class structure in Canadian society, no concentration of wealth, a welfare state "beyond the wildest dreams of the early socialists."

The **Toronto Star** sent top editorial writer Dillon O'Leary to Winnipeg to inform its readers that "the labor-CCF hopes for a new party which will replace the Liberals or Conservatives seems a mirage" all because it appears that there just isn't any leader of towering stature around to promote it. The **Globe and Mail** worked hard on the absence of official representation from the various farm unions, (although leading activists were there in a private capacity) without which it claims the new party will be incapable of getting off the ground.

Bay Street's **Financial Post** took a slightly different tack. After remarking that the seminar was a "very thin affair" it suggested that the new labor party had arrived; but that the "going is likely to be tough" for "this still nameless marvel which was born in a Tower of Babel."

**To be sure no definite programmatic documents were presented and voted upon by the 119 CCFers, 116 unionists and the 33 farmers who attended upon special invitation of the joint CLC-CCF national committee. No final decisions were made as to the exact set-up, the relations between the CCF constituency clubs, trade union affiliates, etc. No allowance was made for this.**

The declared purpose of the seminar was to discuss a series of documents that compile the many viewpoints expressed in CCF-trade union conferences held across the country over the past year. The Winnipeg discussion was to be used as a guide by the joint CCF-CLC committee for more comprehensive and definite plans to be finally submitted for approval and amendment to the national con-

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# WINNIPEG RALLY CLEARS WAY FOR SETTING UP LABOR PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

ventions of the CCF and CLC.

The CLC-CCF seminar, regardless of its extremely restricted and essentially undemocratic nature, marked a successful stride forward in the construction of a labor party and a workers' and farmers' government in Canada.

There had been plenty of signs suggesting that the new party, projected at last year's CLC and later CCF conventions, would be still-born—that instead of impelling forward the forces of independent labor political action nothing would come of it and the CCF would continue to vegetate in the slough that its leadership had taken it. Even worse—it seemed possible, what with the continued rightward course of the CCF and the decline of the capitalist Liberal party, that some form of mongoloid liberal-labor coalition might result and stand in the way of independent class struggle politics.

Frank Hall, Canadian vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, who along with William Smith, leader of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, is a member of the national joint CLC-CCF committee struck off to lay the plans for the new political party, publicly placed himself on record as opposing the efforts to build it. Smith has expressed the need for a "complete re-appraisal of the socialist point of view expressed in the CCF" if the new party is to be able to meet the farmers and liberally minded individuals halfway."

The barring of the independent unions, particularly from the BC conferences, such leaflets circulated by the Ontario Federation of Labor as Sputniks and Luniks and the New Party, giving as the aim of the new party the fight against the impact of Soviet progress on the world's people and not the fight against capitalism on this continent, no doubt alienated many. The fuzzy-minded attempts of the CCF and CLC top brass to appear to be all things to all men—and least of all proponents of a class, a labor party with a program really differentiating it from the old-line parties—the fear expressed by important sections of the CCF of domination by a labor movement which, thanks to capitalist propaganda they see the preserve of crooks and gangsters, seemed to place a question mark around the whole matter.

But the Winnipeg seminar saw the projected labor party, as Stanley Knowles, chairman of the CCF CLC joint national committee expressed it, take "the first step on the second stage." The joint national committee will now submit definite plans for study to the CCF and the CLC to be finally submitted for approval and amendment to the national convention of both organizations.

Provoked by capitalist press attempts to interpret a pre-seminar statement to mean withdrawal of CLC support from the projected party, CLC President Claude Jodoin even more vigorously committed the CLC leadership to a policy of urging all affiliates to affiliate with the new political party. The impact of the past year of sharpening class conflicts was clearly revealed in the keynote speeches and in the reports of the various panels that those in attendance were assigned to.

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The end of any possibility of a Liberal-labor coalition was dramatized by the presence of Ed Finn Jr. The Newfoundland CLC had been the only federation across the country to fail to endorse the projected labor party. Liberal Premier Smallwood's outlawry of the Woodworkers at the behest of the pulp and paper corporations brought a speedy end to this ostrich policy, thrusting the Newfoundland CLC to field the first list of labor party candidates under the misnomer, the Democratic Party. Finn, the youthful leader of the party, in a simple and moving speech to the banquet, laid the ghost of Liberal-labor coalition.

T. C. Douglas, CCF premier of Saskatchewan, where fear of loss of farm support because of trade union influence in the projected party has been most widespread, devoted his speech to a defence of the organized labor movement against its traducers, stressing the identity of interest between the working farmer and the city worker.

Right winger BC CCF president Grace MacInnis, reporting for the labor panel, impressed by the impact of automation on the working force, stressed that the consensus of opinion was that "any program must be based on a planned economy."

Nationalization was ripped out of the CCF program at Winnipeg just three years ago but CCF MP Harold Winch, reporting for the group which discussed public ownership, said that it "is again a vital issue." The panel took a stand "against the growing tendency of our governments to deliberately sabotage public ownerships, e.g. TCA and CBC."

To the hateful and malicious reporting of the Winnipeg seminar by the capitalist press the LPP's Canadian Tribune has added a sorrowful voice. That "it is fairly clear that the die has been cast for the formation of a 'new party'" is no source of satisfaction to Tribune labor columnist William Kashtan. The resolution on political action adopted by the 1958 Winnipeg convention of the CLC, "its letter and spirit," he writes in the Canadian Tribune of Sept. 7, has "been effectively scuttled by the CLC-CCF joint committee."

The LPP hailed the 1958 resolution because of its ambiguities — nowhere did it call for a political party as such—and has been beating the drum for an "all-inclusive coalition" with unspecified forces, "a united front of all democratic forces," again unnamed. Who are the organized "anti - monopoly forces" outside of the CCF and the trade unions, and the farmers' movements which the CLC-CCF brass have made every effort to win? Kashtan finally gets around to it—"the LPP, without which," he writes, "a truly effective anti-monopoly coalition cannot be achieved."

No working class tendency no matter how small should be excluded from the discussion on labor political action, neither the LPP, the Socialist Educational League nor the Socialist Labor Party. Dozens of SEL'ers have been excluded from the CCF where they fight for a socialist policy. But the LPP, which has been opposing a labor party all along, is placing its sectarian interests above the class, is utilizing the false policies of the CCF and trade union brass to cover up its real position. Nor should independent unions such as Mine Mill, which at its 1958 Western convention reiterated "its position that the trade union movement should not be tied to any one political party" be barred. Their false positions should be exposed and fought out.

Socialists have no sectarian interests of their own—no interests separate and apart from that of their class. That is why we rejoice that the die has been cast for the labor party. Now all forces must be mobilized to give this class party not a reformist program but a class struggle program.

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Vanguard

# U.S. STEELWORKERS FIGHT BOSS & GOVT. OFFENSIVE

Mid-Sept '59 By JEAN LePLANTE

The over 500,000 US steel workers, who after months of fruitless negotiations were forced to strike, have now been out for 11 weeks.

The steel corporations are spearheading a general employer offensive against labor. The Steelworkers, bearing the brunt of the attack, are US labor's front line fighters. "The preliminary barrages have been going on for a long time," declares a front page editorial of the National Maritime Union Pilot. "This is what the billion-dollar smear campaigns against labor have been aiming at." The editorial concludes by emphasizing that "the battle the Steelworkers are in today is the fight for the future" of labor.

The Canadian press has been full of items about high wages of steelworkers and the danger of increased inflationary price hoists if the companies met the workers' demands. But, "the bogeyman of 'wage inflation' is just so much boob bait to hook a gullible public," writes Tom Kerry in the American socialist weekly The Militant. "In those publications circulated in the business community the real issue is put with blunt frankness."

A lead editorial in the WALL STREET JOURNAL entitled "The Issue of the Strike," affirms that the "real sticking point" is "the issue of work rules; who is to have the power of decision over the actual working operation of the mills—management or the union." This is the formula under which the corporations are demanding a surrender of working conditions established over two decades.

"It is not an issue peculiar to the steel industry," says the editorial. "There is hardly a major industry in which it is not today a pressing question."

"Indeed," says the Wall Street Journal, "if the steel union had been willing to make concessions to the steel companies' authority over their plants, the steelworkers would be on the job this morning, and probably at higher wages." The so-called "wage inflation" issue is here revealed to be a hypocritical veil to screen the real issue of a corporation conspiracy to jettison union conditions on the job—and not alone in steel but in all "major industry".

Hand in hand with the employers' assault against the unions in the mills and factories of America—a coalition of labor-hating Democrats and Republicans have pushed through anti-labor laws that go far beyond the Taft-Hartley "slave-labor" act. The new fetters outlaw such vital adjuncts of the unions' economic struggle as the secondary boycott and the refusal to handle "hot cargo". In addition, through the so-called "bill of rights" for union members, passed with the excuse that the labor movement is an enterprise of racketeers, gangsters and thugs, the government gains greater scope for interference in labor's internal affairs.

As Eisenhower eases the tensions in Soviet-American relations, he is intensifying his intervention on the side of the corporations in their war against the unions. Now that the vast stockpiles built up

See US STEELWORKERS—page 2

# U.S. STEELWORKERS FIGHT BOSS & GOVT.

(Continued from page 1)

before the strike are becoming depleted and the full impact of the strike is beginning to be felt by the corporations, President Eisenhower is threatening to invoke the Taft-Hartley act.

Steel ranks have demonstrated their tenacity on the picket lines. Thousands now in desperate circumstances have been forced onto relief but there have been no signs of weakening. In Seattle the International Longshoremen's Union has been co-operative in helping to provide part time work for some strikers through its hiring hall. The Community Services Organization of the AFL-CIO has been doing a good job of helping needy strikers obtain aid from various social service agencies. Walter Reuther, on behalf of the UAW has turned over a million dollars and guarantees a million a month as long as the dispute lasts.

When the AFL-CIO executive council designated Labor Day as Support the Steelworkers Day, calling on every union to demonstrate "arm-in-arm solidarity" with the strikebound members of the Steel union—the result was the biggest demonstration of its kind in American history. At least 115,000 unionists turned up at the New York Labor Day parade to mark their manifest pride in their organization. Nearly half a million spectators clapped, cheered and waved as they went by.

The policies followed by the US trade union leadership over the past decades have proven bankrupt. Not long ago Steelworkers Union president Donald McDonald had his arm around the shoulders of the steel corporation presidents and was visiting plants from coast to coast with the head of the US steel trust. Now, as Elmer Holland (D-Pa) declared in the house of representatives during the debate on the anti-labor bill, "we are witnessing in America the greatest barrage of anti-union propaganda that any nation has ever witnessed. The present situation is tragic," he said. "Are we not making the class-warfare predictions of Karl Marx come true?"

Walter Reuther, one of the more vocal practitioners of class collaboration hit the same note in a keynote speech to a recent conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. Reuther explained; "The National Association of Manufacturers and big business are waging a class struggle in America, precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged. They are working overtime to prove that Karl Marx was right."

Bargaining as it has been practised by the union officialdom, rests on the principle of compromise. Compromise is of the essence of class peace, or as the labor statesmen would have it "labor-management co-operation." But the employers have summarily rejected the offer of peaceful compromise. Those days are gone.

The union tops are clinging like leeches to the illusions of class peace. In the face of the passage of the anti-labor laws, according to journalist Roscoe Borns, they were "stunned," "confused," believe they "were betrayed". "I'm all through with the Democrats," said United Steelworkers president David J. McDonald . . . I'm sticking with my friend Dick Nixon."

AFL president George Meany "bridled when asked whether the outcome of the House vote would upset 'relations' between the federation and the Democratic Party," says A. H. Rashy in the NEW YORK TIMES. Meany said he had "no relations" with either party (a statement that was less than candid) and wanted none. "Asked whether the federation might form an independent labor party to demonstrate its lack of confidence in either of the major parties, he replied that he did not think 'we have reached the point of a third party'."

But that, according to The Militant, is just what is needed. It urges "the AFL-CIO should call upon the labor movement to back the steel union in defying any and all strikebreaking attempts by the big business-dominated government." "Defy the Taft-Hartley injunctions"! The other point in its two point program that can chart a course to victory is—Build an Independent Labor Party.

WV #47 Mid-Oct. 59 Editorials

Vanguard

# Buck Defaults, Reverts to Type

Oct 59

At its recent convention the Labor Progressive Party decided to drop that name and take on a new one. At its previous convention, just 18 months ago, it was in the panic of a crisis that shook it right down through to the hair roots. Under the impact of Khrushchov's revelations of the crimes of the Stalin era, which resulted in the defection of almost its entire leadership and thousands from its ranks, the 1957 LPP convention adopted a political resolution which "called for great changes . . . sweeping changes in our work . . ."

Aside from such admissions as having made "serious mistakes" and "erroneous estimates", of having adopted "sectarian attitudes to CCF members and voters", and having promoted demands that fostered "an all-class concept and nationalist interpretations that gloss over the class issues involved in the struggle against monopoly . . .," the resolution called for an end to "uncritical acceptance and idealistic conceptions of the policies and work of other parties and particularly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . ." for an end to "mechanical dependence on the leadership of the CPSU . . ."

The 1957 resolution, presented by Tim Buck, promised the LPP ranks to "combat and do away with the tendency to set up any sort of a 'cult' of individual leaders, organizations or committees through the (LPP) party . . ." to end "the actual suppression of independent thought and criticism (that) has characterized the party's organization". It stated "we should be ready at all times to welcome and discuss these ideas, to work with others, discuss with them, learn from them, move forward with them."

With such a record, stated in sketchy and general terms by the resolution, and such bold promises of a new deal ,one can readily understand a decision to adopt a new name—to dump the name Labor Progressive Party—a name which has enscribed on its crime sheet an all-out wartime drive to tie organized labor to a no-strike pledge, a high powered campaign to aid the profit-gorged corporations to clamp conscription on the youth of Quebec and Canada, and expressions of enthusiastic approval of the A bombing of the peoples of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

But the new name is not at all one to mark out a clear break from the treacherous 15 years activities of the Labor Progressive Party—to clear it of the perfidious policies and crimes of the latter years of the Stalin era. On the contrary the name chosen is the old Communist Party of Canada, a name which is inextricably linked to Stalinism from 1927 on when it was wallowing through the blood of its revolutionary socialist opponents to the seats of the counter-revolution. These were the days when the opponents to subservience to the Kremlin were framed and persecuted, the days of the expulsion of MacDonald and Spector, of the frame-up of opponents as RCMP stool-pigeons and fascist agents, of the third period madness that the CCF was social fascist, and of the class collaborationism of the Popular Front.

To make it clear that the adoption of the name Communist Party contains none of the looked-for promises as outlined in the 1957 political resolution and unmistakably marks out a reversion to Stalinism and its worst excesses, the latest political resolution contained a two-line admonition, without explanation, that Trotskyism must be ruthlessly fought.

National Committee member and editor of the **Pacific Tribune,** Tom McEwen, spelled it out in his column of October 16, written immediately upon his return from or just prior to his nominating that veteran apologist and hatchetman of the entire Stalin era Tim Buck, as national leader of the "new" party. Scribbling of some anonymous "poison pen series of letters panning hell out of the LPP" which appear to be circulating through the BC CP, McEwen quickly and as a matter of course, in the old Stalinist Communist Party tradition, labelled them "a joint RCMP-Trotskyite-Revisionist effort."

Mid-Oct '59

# Dief and Mike Cross Swords

Opposition leader and Liberal Party head Lester B. Pearson has come out with a new formula that offers limitless possibilities. The occasion of his epochal discovery was the Soviet government's proposal of total disarmament.

As you can imagine this proposition hits Canada hard as the government has only got underway with the two already outmoded missile bases in the north, has just come to the realization that there can be no evacuation from Canadian cities in event of an H Bomb war, and has the biggest budgetary deficit for some time which can only result, what with continued military expenditures, in higher taxes and prices.

Here is the formula as he revealed it to a convention of the Young Liberal Federation at Ottawa. "Too often," he said, "instead of saying 'Yes, if' to one of these proposals, we say 'No, unless', and that turns the whole thing around."

As he said, the peoples of the rest of the world get the wrong idea that the capitalist west is war mongering and the Soviet Union wants peace, when every kindergarten pupil here knows it's the other way around.

Don't be confused should you be caught in the corridors of the gas house down in Ottawa and you come across a group of worried MP's pacing the corridor, muttering "Yes, if". They are just capitalist-minded Liberal MP's grooming themselves to take on the "No, unless" capitalist-minded Tories in the big debate on Canadian foreign policy.

WV #48 - Mid-Nov 59 Editorial

Vanguard

81 Queen Street West, Toronto 1, Ont. — EM. 6-1464

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

The policy of The Workers Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers' Vanguard.

Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto
Authorized as Second Class matter, Post Office Department, Ottawa

# A Judge's Blunt Question Gets a Straight Answer

Judge Cochrane of the Peel County Court in Brampton is to be commended for being so blunt with youthful Giorgio Cappellozzo when he applied for Canadian citizenship.

On that very day Defence Minister Pearkes announced that as soon as the two Bomarc missile bases in Northern Canada are

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## Gives Judge Straight Answer

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ready they will be armed with nuclear warheads. So the judge didn't beat around the bush. He didn't ask Giorgio to name the prime minister or how many provinces there are in Canada. He asked a meaningful, a practical and timely question—would he bear arms for Canada?

And Giorgio gave him a straight answer. "I wouldn't like to fight my blood—I cannot turn and destroy my love—I cannot fight against my brothers and sisters" (in Italy), he replied.

We don't know what Giorgio knows about war, but you can be sure he never saw, even in a Hollywood fantasy, a Canadian worker fighting a Mr. Krupp, for instance. It's always been a worker against another worker—brother against brother. Of course it has never been posed that way by the propaganda agencies. We have never fought flesh and blood, human beings, anyone we could identify as our brother. We have always been told we were fighting for high moral and ethical principles.

In Korea we weren't fighting Koreans and propping up Singman Rhee's dictatorship. We were fighting "gooks". And Canadians were sent thousands of miles to another country to fight against foreign aggression.

When Hitler was rising to power it was apparent that millions of Germans were anti-fascist—if only from the existence of numerous concentration camps. Now, meeting thousands here in Canada, we find that they are just like us. But during the war we fought them under the banner of collective war guilt—against fascist scum, against the Hun; and in the name of the Four Freedoms—while Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt divided up the world into zones of influence behind the backs of the people.

The protest has been raised "Are English immigrants asked whether they are willing to fight England?" Admittedly they are not—but they should be! Yes, Judge Cochrane! Ask them all—the English, the Irish, the Dutch, the French! Ask them if they are prepared to fight human beings, who, freed from prejudice, they can identify as brothers and sisters.

To be sure, the judge did not want to know if Cappellozzo would fight Italians, particularly his brothers still in Italy. He wanted no if-and-or-but, but a straight there's-not-to-reason-why answer to his question. And after all, is it beyond possibility that Cappellozzo and others will be asked to fight Italians? Canadian troops are stationed in Germany, have fought in Korea and, under UN auspices, seen service in Israel, Egypt and Jordan. Who knows when or where we will be told that subversion, aggression or peace is threatened, and they will ask us to fight against our brothers. We must give a collective answer.

The First and
Vanguard

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# Where is the Soviet Union Going 42 Years After the Revolution?

**The following are some of the key remarks by Ross Dowson at a forum arranged on November 8 by the Toronto Socialist Educational League on 42 YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.**

The big question in the minds of both the partisans of the young Russian workers republic, 42 years ago, and of course its enemies, was: Will it work? In the twenties, in the flush of its first successes, an American intellectual returning from a trip to the USSR declared: "I have seen the future, and it works."

Then came the thirties, a combination of betrayals and defeats of the struggle for socialism on the international political arena and the growth of a totalitarian regime that undermined and destroyed the entire political superstructure of the planned economy of the USSR, and the question became: Will it survive?

Today, 1959, records that not only has the Soviet economy, born of the Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, survived, but it works, and it is the most dynamic in the entire globe.

## BC Forum Celebrates October Revolution

A very lively celebration of the 42nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution was held by the Socialist Forum in Vancouver on November 7. Speakers were Malcolm Bruce, veteran socialist and founding member of the Communist Party of Canada (1922), Mrs. Win Henderson, North Vancouver CCF member and civic candidate for labor, Rodney Young, member of the Labor Party and an editor of Press, and Reg Bullock, executive member Marine Workers and Boilermakers Union.

## UNDENIABLE, VAST ACHIEVEMENTS

Last week the world press carried Soviet photos of the heretofore hidden surface of the moon—a projectile under the control of Soviet scientists was turned, far out in space, its camera eye pointed moon-ward, photos taken, automatically developed, and ther transmitted to the earth.

**And Soviet rocketry is not an isolated pocket of scientific and industrial development — it reflects vast gains over the past 42 years. To be sure, over-all, US technology is more advanced, but all the recent achievements of Soviet science and technology point to a tremendous narrowing of the gap between US and USSR productivity and living standards.**

This is testified to, not just by official Soviet data and reports, but by official US bodies that have investigated all information available and by observers whose commitment to capitalism is unquestioned.

An official US government report on Soviet Commitment to Education reveals that the USSR is channeling between 10 to 15 per cent of its national income into education—Canada about 3 per cent. And according to Dr. F. C. James, principal and vice-chancellor of McGill University, following a month-long intensive study there, Soviet education is superior in almost every field—not just technical but in the fine arts and humanities. Fifty US scientists reported in the New York Times of July 3, "If present trends continue, 10 years from now the USSR will lead the US in many broad areas of science and will be far ahead in terms of trained manpower."

The average rate of industrial expansion in the USSR is now three to four times higher than in the US. In the next 10 to 12 years, according to Khrushchov, the USSR will surpass the US in production and in per capita production. The recent BC Federation of Labor went on record favoring a drive to establish a seven hour day in that province. By 1960 the seven hour day will be operative in the USSR for all factory and office employees.

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## VICTORY OF PLANNED ECONOMY

What is the secret of Soviet dynamism? Not the profit motive or private property in the means of production which capitalist propagandists allege to be the source of all human progress. In the Soviet Union there is no private ownership in the means of production. And neither is slave labor nor stolen atomic information the secret. There are no atomic secrets — the American capitalists themselves found it necessary to wage a bloody civil war against wasteful slave labor to open up the road for industrial progress.

The source of Soviet development is the nationalized property relations and the planning of the economy.

What a vindication of the program of a planned economy, of the socialist perspective, what an affirmation of the stand taken by the revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists, who remained firm in its defence.

The Stalinists and their "Friends of the Soviet Union" denied the truth about the destruction of the far reaching social legislation decreed in the Lenin days. When Khrushchov revealed a corner of the truth, panic hit their ranks. The CCF and trade union leadership, so long partisans of the cold war, at first denying them, then struck dumb in incredulity, are now in a panic over the achievements of the Soviet economy—hysterically advising the ruling circles of the West that they must and how to go about re-establishing their former supremacy.

Just as the revolution of 1917—the beginning of the world revolution—belongs to the revolutionary socialists, so do the achievements of the planned economy of the USSR. We glory in every gain, seeking to unite the economy of our country and the entire world in a free association of socialist republics.

**The colossal achievements of Soviet economy are laying the bases, the material footings for its return to the path of Lenin and October — to the full flowering promised by Nov. 7, 1917. The revolution, cramped and distorted for so many years, is moving out once again onto the road of October.**

## BUREAUCRACY UNDER FIRE

The vast changes, the improvement of the conditions of the masses in the Soviet Union are no more the products of Khrushchov's wisdom, than the previous conditions were the product of Stalin's evil. The bureaucracy is a terrible reality, not only in its role in the international political arena but in the Soviet Union itself.

The real concessions that it is making do not discount its essential character and its existence. No more than their active sponsorship of a labor party denies the character and existence of the Canadian labor bureaucracy. The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a subjective, a psychological and moral phenomenon, nor even an objective deviation—it is a social phenomenon — social advantages grafted onto endemic bureaucracy.

**The bureaucracy that arose on the isolation of the revolution and the backwardness of its inheritance, which arrogated to itself the essential privileges of consumption, is ever coming into greater contradiction with the development of the productive forces of the country.**

The period of introducing capitalist techniques is ending. The growth of industry, the development of new problems requires initiative and the feeling of responsibility without which there cannot be qualitative progress, and so the elimination of the bureaucracy. Under a nationalized economy, quality demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative. Soviet democracy as Trotsky said, is not the demand of an abstract policy—still less an abstract moral. It has become a life and death need of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet peoples are speaking up, finding their voice. The bureaucracy is having to face the dissatisfaction of the people. This is evidenced in reports of travellers and the letters to the editor columns in the Soviet press. The accomplishments with lunks are feeding pressures for more consumers goods. The availability of consumers goods are placing differentials in income under critical scrutiny — attention is being directed to the realization of socialist goals.

At the same time, through his famous 20th Congress speech, downgrading Stalin, while he attempted to clear the bureaucracy of the crimes of Stalin, Khrushchov lit the fire that will destroy this parasitic caste—with his promise of a return to the path of Lenin.

**The improvement of their material conditions does not reconcile the workers with the authorities. By freeing their thought for general problems of politics and increasing their self respect, it paves the way for open conflict.**

**New York Times correspondent, Harrison E. Salisbury, in a series of articles on a recent extended visit in the SU, writes that "The liquidation of labor camps and the reduction of the power of the secret police has altered the social forces within the Soviet Union. The number of former prison camp inmates in important posts, he writes, "gives an inner toughness to the fabric of Soviet society that it did not formerly have. These men are not easily frightened. They have few illusions about the nature of the Soviet state. And they form a real barrier against the rise of a new police power."**

With the downgrading of Stalinism—interest in the person and ideas of Leon Trotsky, great revolutionary and socialist opponent of the bureaucracy, has risen. Salisbury writes "Russians used to blanch at mention of the name of Leon Trotsky. Even today you do not hear it often. But a young man in a provincial city brought Trotsky's name into a discussion of books on Russia. Another joked about his own physical resemblance to Trotsky and a third said: 'We have begun to talk about Trotsky a little, but we still don't write about him'."

**The bureaucracy is not only recognizing the demand to know about Trotsky but is making limited concession to it. LA VERITE DES TRAVAILLEURS, a French Trotskyist paper, reports that the Soviet government recently issued a bulletin containing a selection of articles dealing with the USSR from the Trotskyist magazine QUATRIEME INTERNATIONALE. Six or seven thousand copies, with official comments proving the falsity of the Trotskyist position were distributed, among other places, at the University of Moscow.**

The political revolution heralded by the heroic struggle of the Budapest workers for socialist democracy, the struggle for Soviet democracy, the revival of Soviet parties beginning with the party of the Bolsheviks, the resurrection of the trade unions and democracy in industry, is on the march.

Vanguard

Editorials
INV #49 Mid-Dec '59

12-17-IR

# GOVT CODDLES CAPITAL WORKERS LEFT IN COLD

When the United States and the United Kingdom decided not to pick up options on Canadian uranium production after 1962-63 and the bottom fell out of the uranium market, (Canada's third largest export) the United Steelworkers wired the government. Workers want to know what plans, if any, have been made for the protection of employees' equity, the telegram asked.

The interests of the uranium companies are being well looked after; just as were A. V. Roe's, when the outmoded Arrow was dropped, and Dosco's interests are, as it closes up Nova Scotia mines.

The government couldn't do enough for the free enterprisers who plunged in to open up the north. The contracts the uranium companies were granted, guaranteed repayment for their plans during the life of the contracts. The contracts are gilt-edged—they are with the Canadian Crown Corporation, Eldorado Mining Company, signed by agents of Her Majesty the Queen. The lack of risk didn't dull the initiative of Consolidated Denison—in 1959 they more than doubled their 1958 profits.

As to be expected, when the bottom fell out, the government didn't leave such multi-million dollar mining companies as Rio

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## Workers Left Out In Cold

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Tinto, headed up by former Liberal cabinet minister R. H. Winters, in the lurch. Through Eldorado the government took over the old contracts which will remain as they were except that delivery dates can be stretched and one company can buy the contracts of another.

Thus while some mines will be closed, others will be able to maintain maximum production well beyond 1963. The smaller are going to be looked after. Should the big outfits bid too low, Eldorado is behind them as a buffer. In fact, as soon as the government's policy was announced, Lorado's bonds, which had been selling at $35, rose to $65.

The government has no end of plans to protect the interests of a scattering of bondholders and shareholders. All the resources of the country have been put at their disposal. But there are others involved—the thousands who cleared out the bush, who built the roads, sunk the shafts, who mine the uranium, who service the communities, who built homes, schools.

The 30,000 people who live in Elliott Lake, for instance—they have been completely overlooked. They have contracts too—with finance companies that hold 25 year mortgages on their homes. They have investments too—in schools, churches and roads. At Elliott Lake 4,000 to 4,500 immediately lost their jobs—9,000 to 10,000 will retain their jobs perhaps for seven years.

The government could have declared a moratorium on mortgage and time payment debt, but didn't. It could have made a few million available to aid the rehabilitation of workers and their families elsewhere, but didn't. It could have ended the whole farce of private capital's participation in uranium production, and, instead of guaranteeing profits, decided to plan uranium production and development of atomic energy as a nationally-owned project — free from profit altogether in the interests of human progress and use.

On January 11-13 the Ontario government is sponsoring a conference on the future of uranium and atomic energy in Canada. The Steelworkers representatives should lay before the conference and the public a plan to protect the workers.

The government contract to Canadian Car has only forestalled the complete shutdown of this Fort William plant. Before Christmas another 1,200 employees of the heavily subsidized Nova Scotia empire of Dosco will be on the street. With the final closing down of Canadian Cottons, in the words of one of its aldermen, Cornwall faces disaster.

There is a plan to protect the workers—that is the national ownership of the closing-down factories, their retooling, if necessary, and the production of goods at cost that the Canadian people need. This plan not only envisages a new society of peace and plenty but is obviously becoming one of immediate and burning urgency.

## Dropping All Pretences

It is good that things should be called by their right name. Appearances may be considerably changed, and this might discourage faint hearts, but those who are serious at least know where things really stand; where in fact they stood all along.

At last the German Social Democratic Party has admitted that it is not a socialist party. For the past 40 years it has clung verbally to Marxism, but in reality it has been nothing but a capitalist reform party. Now, by a vote of 324 to 16, at its national congress at Bad Godesberg, it has dropped all pretences by dropping all references to socialism from the party program, by formally abandoning nationalization and of course by complete commitment to the policies of Wall Street imperialism and all its treaties such as NATO.

Now it is crystal clear to class conscious German workers that it is necessary to commence the building of an authentic party of socialism which Luxemburg, Liebnecht and Mehring commenced years ago.

The open, frank actions of the German Social Democratic leaders and a similar policy being advocated by the top leadership of the British Labour Party will no doubt have repercussions here in Canada.

The right wing CCF and trade union leadership, their hopes of a coalition with the Liberals shattered, have been goaded by the anti labor drive into organizing the labor party. Now the question of the program of the new party confronts the CCF-union seminars, the PACs and CCF constituency organizations.

Ontario CCF leader Donald MacDonald, who it turns out supported all those sections of the Select Committee's Report which are to form the union-busting revisions to Ontario's labor legislation, will have his say—as well as renegade Harold Winch. They will take comfort from the actions of their British and German counterparts. You can be sure others, who until now have given lip service to socialism, to nationalization and to class struggle policies, will be emboldened and will drop all previous pretences.

Perhaps this will dismay some socialists. But it will have this merit—it will tell us where we really stand and what the forces really are in the struggle to give the new party a class struggle program.